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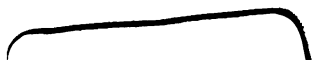
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CHRISTIAN RESEARCHES

IN

Syria and the Holy Land,

IN

1823 & 1824.

IN FURTHERANCE OF THE OBJECTS

OF THE

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

BY

REV. WILLIAM JOWETT, M. A.

One of the Representatives of the Society, and late Fellow of St. John's College,
Cambridge.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

THE JOURNAL OF MR. JOSEPH GREAVES,

ON A VISIT TO THE REGENCY OF TUNIS.

From the London Edition.

BOSTON:

**PUBLISHED BY CROCKER AND BREWSTER, CUMMINGS, HILLIARD, & CO.
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1826.

EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

HAVING had the charge of the former volume of *Christian Researches*, I have undertaken, at the request of the Church Missionary Committee, to carry through the press this additional volume; which furnishes abundant proof of the enlarged, intelligent, and devout spirit in which the Society's Representative continues to prosecute its objects in his highly interesting sphere of christian labor.

JOSIAH PRATT.

London, August 1, 1825.

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE AMERICAN PUBLISHERS.

THE volume mentioned above, is entitled "*Christian Researches in the Mediterranean from 1815 to 1820.*" It is about as large as the present, abounds with interesting matter, and has passed through several editions in England. Should sufficient encouragement be given to warrant the undertaking, this volume will also be reprinted.

Boston, Feb. 6, 1826.

PREFACE.

The present volume is designed as a continuation of those Christian Researches, in the prosecution of which the author was engaged during the first five years of his labors in the Mediterranean, from 1815 to 1820; and of which an account has already been published by the Church Missionary Society.

In the former publication, a wider range was taken; and a general view was given of most of the countries adjacent to this sphere of missionary labor. In this volume; a fuller description is offered of one particular portion of these regions—a portion by far the most interesting to christians, on account of its connexion with all the great events recorded in the Holy Scriptures.

The limited extent of the region here described dispenses with the necessity of that systematic arrangement, which was observed in the former volume—an arrangement, which was, in fact, absolutely requisite to the clear developement of the condition and opinions of so great a variety of nations and of churches, as was exhibited in that publication. In the following pages, many of the author's observations are given in the form of a

Journal. It would not, indeed, have been difficult to subdivide the volume into parts, each furnishing a separate account of the different classes of society to be found in Syria and Palestine. Since, however, that small country does, in fact, present an epitome of nearly all the bodies of men existing around the Mediterranean, it is evident, that, in such a partition of subjects, some would have been found too inconsiderable to form by themselves a detached chapter.

The want of lucid order, incidental to this mode of publication, will appear, however, to be, in a considerable measure, remedied by the introductory section of the work; in which, by means of an extensive compilation from a variety of authors, there is presented to the reader a classified view of the different bodies of men existing in Syria and Palestine.

In the sections which follow the journal, the author has aimed at developing more fully than his journal had done, the condition of the people; not without an ardent hope, that the picture exhibited may be the means of rousing the British public to a deeper sense of their obligations to prosecute christian missions in this part of the world. Various suggestions, the result of frequent communication with men of intelligence and piety, are likewise offered, in reference to the character of missionaries and the measures of missionary and Bible societies.

In the appendix is given the journal of a visit made, last winter, to the regency of Tunis by Mr. Joseph Greaves—a friend from whose assistance the Church Missionary Society has, during several years, derived great benefit; and who was desirous

to attempt at least, previously to his quitting Malta, a commencement of christian investigation and exertions in North Africa—a region hitherto untrod by the feet of any Protestant Missionaries. Besides distributing many copies of the Holy Scriptures and useful tracts, he has added to our general knowledge of the States of Barbary some valuable and interesting particulars, which may hereafter serve as a foundation of various practical measures.

The Church Missionary Society has felt the advantage of the system of research thus far conducted, with sufficient force to desire that it should be, in its proportion, steadily pursued. In fact, the former volume may be considered as a general survey of the whole of the Mediterranean sphere; the particular divisions of which will require, each of them in succession, to be filled up, so far as shall be found practicable, more in detail. On this plan, it would be desirable for the public to be furnished with an exact view of the circumstances and opinions of the following principal countries—the PAPAL STATES, together with the nations more immediately in relation with them—MODERN GREECE—TURKEY IN EUROPE AND ASIA—ARMENIA, and the neighbouring regions—PERSIA, SYRIA, and PALESTINE (the review of which is, in the present volume, in a considerable measure, executed)—ARABIA—EGYPT and NUBIA—ABYSSINIA—and the BARBARY STATES. An intelligent investigation of the condition of these various regions, prosecuted by the different missionaries in a truly christian spirit, with accuracy of observation, sound judgment, meekness of temper, and a practical determination of mind, would furnish to the conductors of missionary and Bible societies.

and to missionaries actually on service, an invaluable depository of information, on which to form their opinions and direct their measures.

It is, however fully to be borne in mind, that such a system of research forms only a part—a small, and continually decreasing part, of the work of a missionary. Enough has, indeed, been already effected, to open an introduction to immediate and important labours. The various christian societies of our own country, of the continent, and of America, would probably all of them concur in this judgment, and many of them are acting upon it. But the spirit and the measures of all need a vast enlargement. It is high time for the faithful members of Christ to be instant in their supplications to Him, who is the great Head over all things to the church—that He would vouchsafe to pour out the gift of His Holy Spirit more abundantly than ever, preparing all the nations by a feeling of anxious expectation of some great event, and at the same time sending forth a numerous company of Evangelists to visit all the dark places of the Earth in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ.

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Religious Denominations,
OR
BODIES OF MEN,
PROFESSING DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS OPINIONS,
IN
SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND.

JEWS.

RABBINISTS—KARAITES—SAMARITANS.

IN describing the different classes of people who at present dwell in Syria and the Holy Land, it is natural to give the first place to that nation, which, in the most ancient periods of history, possessed so considerable a portion of this territory, by the title of a special gift from heaven. What we might almost term, the Divine Nobility of this race, is briefly and energetically sketched in those words of Scripture:—*Who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.* (Rom. ix. 4, 5.) No Master of Heraldry ever pronounced such a majestic train of titles: no country, not the proudest, can present, in a condensed form, such a splendid record of its privileges and distinctions. There does not, nor ever did there exist, such a remarkable nation as that of the Jews—a people terrible from their beginning hitherto!

This family of the children of Abraham—attainted and despoiled of its heritage, but not extinct—still lingers, a small part of it at least, upon the paternal estate; anxious to be found on the spot, at the moment of the appearance, daily and hourly expected, of their Deliverer and Restorer; or, in the event of their death, fondly deeming it meritorious to be gathered to the grave of their fathers.

From Aleppo to Jerusalem, Jews are to be found in all the principal cities: in Mount Lebanon there are but few. The author, in a future part of this volume, gives an account of them, principally in those places which he visited.

The distinction between the two leading divisions of the Jews is extremely simple—the Rabbinical, who are attached to a multitude of human traditions and Commentaries; and the Karaites, who adhere to the simple text of the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

Besides this leading distinction, there is another, which is of a national kind; that between Jews and Samaritans. It may, indeed, very reasonably be doubted how far the Samaritans have a claim to be classed with the descendants of Abraham. A fuller discussion of this point than could be allowed in this preliminary chapter, will be found in a subsequent part of this volume. It seemed, however, not improper to class under this head, a body which professes to ground its religion entirely upon the Five Books of Moses.

There are, further, distinctions among the Jews, arising from differences in their modes of worship, or from refinements of speculative opinion. Such are the sects of the Spanish and Polish Jews, the Hassidim, &c. of which some notice will appear in that part of the following Journal which describes Tiberias.

CHRISTIANS.

If pure christianity consist in the enjoyment of the light of Revelation; in the exercise of faith, hope, and charity; and in the maintenance of *the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*—then must it be mournfully admitted, that the professors of our most holy faith have, in Syria and Palestine, wandered very far indeed from the truth and simplicity of the Gospel. Darkness and discord share the dominion

here. It is true that there is no part of the christian world into which these foul spirits have not, in various degrees, found entrance: but, in our present survey, the sight of them is doubly painful; while we contemplate the intensity of their influence, and the melancholy fact, that they should be here ruling in that very sphere, where the religion of light and love was first promulgated.

We must not shrink, however, from faithfully delineating the picture. If the scornful feelings of the infidel should begin to kindle at the description, let him reflect that here is no triumph over christianity, but a developement of erring human nature. That professing christians have departed from the purity of the faith, no more tends toward a refutation of christianity, than the errors of idolatry and polytheism to deprave the doctrine of the eternal Godhead. Does a reflecting man doubt the truth, that *there is One God*, because the myriads of the heathen have worshipped stocks, and stones, and beasts, and reptiles? Neither ought the faith of any christian man to be shaken, by seeing that the professors of christianity have multiplied schisms and heresies. All these facts serve but to prove the infirmity and sinfulness of human nature: they cannot shake the truth of Revelation. Although the evidence of the doctrine be not apparent in Palestine, yet there is, in the Christian Church, *one body, and one Spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling: One Lord, one faith, one baptism; One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all.* (Ephes. iv. 4—6.) He who prays for a spiritual participation of the blessings expressed in that passage, and he alone, may, with safety and with painful profit, contemplate the following details.

The professing Christians of Syria and Palestine may be thus classed:—

Greeks, of the proper Oriental Church—

Armenians, proper—

Syrians, proper—

Copts and Abyssinians—

Roman Catholics; namely,

Maronites—

Greek Roman-Catholics—

Armenian Roman-Catholics—

Syrian Roman-Catholics—

Latins, or Frank Roman-Catholics—

Protestants.

GREEKS.

THE Greeks, of the proper Oriental Church, are numerous in some parts of Syria. The Greek Patriarch of Antioch resides generally at Damascus: the Greek Patriarchs of Jerusalem have, for more than a century, taken up their residence at Constantinople; where they have been accustomed to assist the Patriarch and the Synod of that See. In Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem, these Oriental Greeks are in considerable numbers: from the maritime towns they have found it expedient to withdraw during the present revolution, although some remain. In Mount Lebanon they are not tolerated, the Romish influence being there predominant and exclusive: but, to the south, toward Jerusalem, the Greeks probably far outnumber the Roman Catholics. Their standard of faith, it is almost superfluous to repeat, is that which the author has mentioned in his former volume of *Christian Researches*, p. 13; being formed according to the First Seven General Councils, together with the Holy Scriptures. They have been found, as in Asia Minor and Greece, so also in Syria and Palestine, favorably disposed to the labors of the Bible Society.

ARMENIANS.

BETWEEN Syria and the British Possessions in the East Indies, there is a vast tract of country, of the actual religious condition of which comparatively very little is known. If we except a small portion of Roman-Catholic Greek influence in the more western parts of this immense region, it will be found to be occupied, so far as christianity is concerned, by Armenians, Jacobite Syrians, and Nestorians, more or less scantily distributed among the native Mahomedan population.

The Armenian church holds the opinion of the Monophysites, concerning the incarnation of Jesus Christ; in such a manner, however, as to differ from the Jacobites, with whom they do not hold communion. "They are governed," observes Mosheim, "by three Patriarchs. The chief, whose diocese comprehends the Greater Armenia,

resides at Echmiazin. The second resides at Cis, a city of Cilicia. There is a third, residing at Aghtamar, but who is looked upon by the other Armenians as the enemy of their Church." Besides these, there are other Prelates dignified with the title of Patriarch, although not fully of the same rank; those, namely, of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Caminieć in Poland.*

SYRIANS.

THE Nestorians do not so properly come under the denomination of Bodies existing in Syria, belonging rather to Mesopotamia.† The Jacobite Syrians have also their residence chiefly on the banks of the Tigris; but their Patriarch, who lives near Mardin, not unfrequently visits Aleppo, where many rich Jacobite Syrians reside. He claims also to be styled Patriarch of Antioch: although, at Mosul, resides another Jacobite Prelate, who is styled, sometimes, the Maphrian, sometimes the Primate, of the East; in dignity inferior to a Patriarch, but superior to a Metropolitan. (Vide Assemani, Vol. II. p. 215. *note*.) The Jacobite Syrians have also a chapel at the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem.‡ They hold the Monophysite heresy in common with the Copts in Egypt.

It was about the commencement of the sixth century that this heresy was promulgated by Severus, a Patriarch of Antioch. A very short time afterwards, he was expelled from Syria; and the orthodox faith was re-established in that country. Ere long, however, a follower of his, James Baradæus, successfully reared again the Monophysite standard; and, in Egypt and Mesopotamia, they have ever since maintained their opinions, receiving, from this second advocate of Monophysitism, the title of Jacobites.

The following remarks of the Jesuit missionaries in Syria relative to this Body will describe their sentiments, and the tenacity with which they adhere to them:—

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. Century xvi. Sec. 3. Part 1. chap. 2.

† It is, however, said that there are Nestorians in Syria. Some account of this body, will be given in a Note to this Section.

‡ The Author is, however, uncertain whether this Chapel belongs to the Jacobites or Nestorians. It is called, generally, the Chapel of the Syrians. The following words of Asseman seem to give it to the Nestorians. "In Syria et Palestina olim frequentissimè: nunc unam tantum Ecclesiam Hierosolymis habent." Vol. IV. p. 431. *de Syria Nestoriana*. Anno 1710: circiter.

In these remarks there is much good sense: there is, however, one circumstance, naturally enough not alluded to by this learned Papal Envoy—THE SCRIPTURES WERE NOT ABUNDANTLY CIRCULATED AMONG ALL CLASSES OF CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST. But this could form no part of the policy of the court of Rome. It may be hoped that the recent publication of the ENTIRE SYRIAC BIBLE, by the British and Foreign Bible Society, will, under the divine blessing, be one of the means instrumental in giving Protestant missionaries a favorable acceptance from an immense body of christians, as yet almost unknown, because almost unexplored by us, peopling the vast region between Aleppo and Travancore.

COPTS AND ABYSSINIANS.

THE Copts and Abyssinians in Palestine are to be found principally in the Holy City; devotion being the motive which has drawn them to this land. The Copts, from the nearness of Egypt, more easily return to their native country; but the Abyssinians, through extreme want, are obliged to remain. They are very few in number, and of no influence; living in great poverty, and many of them being dependent upon the richer Armenians, to whom they are in some degree attached by the similarity of their religious faith.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

HAVING enumerated the different christian bodies, which seem to have upheld, in the respective countries of the East, a more proper claim to the title of oriental christians; we come to notice those christians, who, either being natives, have adopted, or being foreigners, have introduced, the dominion of the Papacy. The first four sub-divisions of this number consist of persons by birth oriental: the fifth is wholly a foreign interest, being by birth, as well as in faith, occidental.

Maronites—

Greek Roman-Catholics—

Armenian Roman-Catholics—
Syrian Roman-Catholics—
Latins, or Frank Roman-Catholics.

MARONITES.

THE Maronites are to be found principally in Mount Lebanon, and the adjacent cities. The residence of their Patriarch is at Kanobin, not far, from Tripoli; and this may be considered as nearly the northern boundary of their residence. The titular jurisdiction of this Patriarch, in common with that of some other Patriarchs in the East equally recognised by the See of Rome, is ANTIOCH: from which city, as having been visited by Saint Peter, a kind of papal rank and virtue, (secondary, however, to that of Rome,) is by them supposed to emanate to all his successors in that See. South of Nazareth, the author heard of no resident Maronites.

This church is in strict communion with the Romish hierarchy; a connexion which was carefully cherished by the Jesuits, as they found, in the ease and security of the mountains, and in the docility of the natives, the most advantageous means of forming their oriental seminaries and similar establishments.* In the province, called Kastravan, situate between Beirout and Tripoli, one of their missions was established in the college at Antura, or Antoura. Several monasteries have also been established in this neighborhood by the Franciscans from Europe. Pope Urban VIII. manifested his sense of the value of this station, by forming here, in connexion with the propaganda, an institution for oriental learning and Romish missions: from the rules of this establishment some extracts will be given in a future page, under the topics of "The Work of an Evangelist" and "Education." In this place the reader will be sufficiently informed of the origin of the Maronites, according to the tradition most approved by themselves, from the following passage:—

"The Maronite nation derives its origin and its name from the celebrated Abbé Maron; who must not be con-

* The Maronites had, previously to A. D. 1182, been Monothelites. At that period, they abjured these opinions; and were re-admitted to the communion of the Roman church. (See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, century VII.)

founded with another of the same name, more ancient, a Monothelite Heresiarch. The holy Abbé Maron was born in Syria, in the fourth century. He there spent the life of a hermit. He had under his conduct several disciples, who embraced his manner of living. The reputation of his holiness was so great, that St. John Chrysostom wrote to him from the place of his exile, to entreat him to obtain from God, by his prayers, grace to endure his excessive pains with patience and courage. Cardinal Baronius eulogises some letters which the holy Abbé wrote to the Pope Hormisdas, and the book which he presented to the council, an authentic proof of the Catholicity of the holy Abbé.

"After he had piously finished his days, his disciples built a second monastery near the river Orontes. The better to recommend it, they gave it the name of their father; and, after that time, it was called the monastery of St. Maron. The emperor Justinian rebuilt their church, and gave it a handsomer appearance than the former one.

"In the number of the hermits of this monastery, there was one named John: who, having distinguished himself among his brethren by his virtues, was elected Abbé; and, in honor of their first father, he was surnamed the Abbé Maron. This second Abbé Maron powerfully combatted the heretics and schismatics. He converted many of them; and so successfully defended his nation against schism and heresy which surrounded it on all sides, that it alone in the Levant has remained constantly and universally devoted to the chair of St. Peter.

"The Abbé John Maron, of whom we speak, was the first of his nation who was honored with the title of Patriarch of the Maronites. He received the Patriarchate from the holy See. His successors, after their election, never omit, up to the present day, to depute a person to the Pope, in order to receive his confirmation and the *Pallium*."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, Vol. I. pp. 109—111.

GREEK ROMAN-CATHOLICS.

THE Patriarch of the Greek Roman-Catholics resides at the Monastery of Mar Michæl, near Antoura.* They have

* See the following Journal, under date of October 21, 1823.

several monasteries in Mount Lebanon and the adjacent cities; among which a principal one is that of Deir Mhallee, or San Salvador, near Saide. From this place, many are sent forth to occupy the office of parochial priests, in various towns of Mount Lebanon. They take to themselves the name of Melchites, in the same manner as do the orthodox Greeks of Egypt: but this title at first originated in a political, rather than in a religious, distinction.

It may be difficult to trace at what exact period members of the Greek church in Syria first became Roman Catholics. The activity of the Romish missionaries in the promotion of such conversions must have been successful, probably, long before the period alluded to in a letter from which we are about to give an extract. It is a letter, without date, of considerable length, occupying 159 pages of the "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*," in the Paris edition of 1780; and is addressed, by the Superior of the Jesuit missions in Syria and Egypt, to the Superior-general of the order, giving a very full and minute account of the Syrian missions. The letter being without date, and entering into a very great variety of matter, has rather the appearance of being a compilation from the archives of the Jesuit missionaries during a long period of time. The following extract records the reception of the Romish Creed, by some dignitaries of the Greek church in Syria, about the year 1717; an event which could not fail, for the time, to throw a great weight of influence into the papal scale; and it is accordingly announced in terms of high gratulation. It may very properly be introduced, as illustrating this section, concerning the Greek Roman-Catholics.

"The moment is at length come, in which the bandage, which hid their eyes from the Catholic truth, has fallen. The Patriarch of Alexandria and the Patriarch of Aleppo have been the first to send to our Holy Father, Pope Clement XI., their profession of faith; by which they protest, that they recognize and revere him, as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, and the centre of unity to the Catholic faith.

"The Patriarch of Damascus, named Cyril, the most powerful and consequently the most in credit of all the Patriarchs in the Levant, was the last to give himself up. He had long lived in schism; but, as he is a man of spirit and capacity, he could not refrain from praising and defending the Catholic religion. He frequented the company of the mis-

sionaries, and was well pleased that they should have the honor of often visiting him. Far from opposing the conversion of his flock, the schismatic Greeks, he favored, as much as possible, their return to the Romish church. He confessed, even, that he was ill pleased with the Greeks of Constantinople, for having formerly separated themselves. These good discourses, expressive of his sentiments, excited in the Catholics a feeling of affection toward him. They desired and asked of God, on his behalf, strength that he might follow the example, which the two Patriarchs of Alexandria and Aleppo had just given him. God has been pleased to hear their prayers; but mark the final method, by which the Saviour of men has been pleased to recover this prelate to the bosom of the Romish church, which had been so often the subject of his eulogium. Schism had held him in slavery—to compel him to quit it, it was necessary for Providence to permit his falling into captivity in the manner which I am about to relate.

“The Patriarch, of whom we speak, confided the missal of his church to one of his disciples, to take it to a binder. Some Turks, having by chance entered the shop, found this missal. One of them seized it; and carried it immediately to the Bashaw, designing to make his court to him. The Bashaw charmed with the opportunity of making an exaction from the Patriarch and extorting money from him, did not fail, the next morning, to send and summon him before him. The Bashaw then said to him, in a furious tone, that he had been informed of what he had done to seduce the Turks and make Franks of them—that he had given to one of them a book of his false religion, to pervert him—and that, for his crime, he deserved to be burnt to death: then, without waiting for his justification, he committed him to the prison of blood, so called, because it is appropriated to criminals destined to be condemned to death. The Bashaw’s order of commitment was executed: but the Patriarch, after some day’s confinement, having learnt that for three thousand crowns his liberty would be restored to him, caused this sum to be paid to the Bashaw; and the door of the prison was opened to him, on Whit-Monday, 1717. Scarcely was he come out of prison and returned to his house, when he received the brief from Pope Clement XI., in which his Holiness expressed to him that he had learnt, with a sensible joy, the protection which he granted to the Catholics, and the proofs which he gave of his esteem for the Romish church;

that these dispositions led him to believe that he was not far from the kingdom of God; that he conjured him, as his brother in Jesus Christ, to hear the voice of God which called him, and would use the voice of the Common Pastor to recover his flock to the fold. "Meditate," said he to him, "on those words of Jesus Christ—*What shall it profit a man, if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?* Beware lest the fear of losing some transient and temporal advantages occasion you the loss of an eternal blessing. Follow, rather, the example of the Patriarch of Alexandria and of the Patriarch of Aleppo, who have sent us their profession of faith conformable to the holy councils. We expect," said the Pope to him in conclusion, "we expect from you such a reply as we desire; and we will then explain to you what you will have to do, and the conduct which you should maintain."

"In terms nearly such as these, the brief was conceived. The Patriarch received and read it with a profound respect. The Lord, at the same time, spoke to the heart of the Patriarch; who, touched by this invitation of the father and chief of pastors, assembled the missionaries, to declare to them, that he had taken the resolution of sending his profession of faith to the holy father in the terms which he desired. The prelate has kept his word. He, last year, deputed three persons, who carried to Rome his profession, together with presents and his pastoral staff, in order to submit it to the vicar of Jesus Christ.

"We doubt not but his holiness would feel a sensible joy at receiving into his communion, and nearly at the same time, the three Patriarchs of the Greek church. God grant that those who succeed them may be the inheritors of their orthodox faith, as well as of their dignity!"—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, Vol. I. pp. 140—144.

ARMENIAN ROMAN-CATHOLICS.

THE residence of the Armenian Roman-Catholic Patriarch is at Ybzar, situate to the north of Beirout: some account of this convent will appear in the following pages, the author having visited it during his stay in Mount Lebanon. But although the Romanists have used very active exertions to bring over the Armenians to their profession, and have long maintained a considerable influence with that people,

both in Constantinople and in other parts of the Turkish empire; yet it is not to be supposed, that the proportion of these converts is, in any degree, comparable to those who have adhered to the ancient national church of the Armenians. The following remarks of Niebuhr will convey a very just idea of this fact, in reference both to those Greeks and to those Armenians, who have accepted the dignity of the patriarchal title from Rome.

"There are, also, on the large and fertile mountains of Lebanon, many christians, [that is, Romish christians,] who are denominated Greeks, because formerly they held to the Greek church: but their ecclesiastics are often less acquainted with the Greek, than the Maronites are with the Syriac language, which occasions them to perform their worship principally in the Arabic language. They have also their own patriarchs: but, to all appearance, this has only been the case since the time of their union with the Romish church; and I imagine that the other united Greeks, who do not live in the territory of the Druses, pay no respect to this patriarch; but that the Pope simply gives this title to some ecclesiastic of the country here, in order that he may say he has a Greek Patriarch in the Levant. In the same manner, there is, on Mount Lebanon, an Armenian Patriarch, who is nominated by the Pope, and who, probably, has not much to say for himself. In general, all these self-called European patriarchs live very tranquilly under the protection of the Druses: while the Chaldean Patriarch of the Pope at Diarbekir, and other apostate ecclesiastics of the East, often suffer great mortifications from the members of their ancient religion, and from the bashaws: for there are still to be found, in all the Syrian villages, many Greeks, Armenians, and Jacobites; who adhere to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Echmiazin, and Diarbekir, as heads of their churches respectively; and who do not regard it with an eye of indifference, that the Pope should give the title of patriarch to apostates, or that the European Monks and their disciples should seduce members from the ancient communions, and thereby foment discords, and utterly ruin many good families. The dissensions of the Christians are always a clear profit to the Turkish government."—*Niebuhr, Vol. II. pp. 346, 347.*

SYRIAN ROMAN-CATHOLICS.

Of this body, which is not numerous in Syria, the Patriarch is generally understood to be Mar Gregorius; the ecclesiastic who visited England in the year 1819, as Archbishop of Jerusalem. Some further account of this body will appear in the following Journal, under the date of October 20, 1823.

LATINS, OR FRANK ROMAN-CATHOLICS.

To this number must be referred the consular representatives, French, Spanish, Austrian, &c. of the respective Roman-Catholic Countries of Europe. These are, generally, either natives of their respective countries; or else, if born in the Levant, they are of immediate European extraction. They are usually—perhaps it might be said, invariably—professors of the Roman-Catholic faith. In this respect, the church of Rome has never lost sight of its exclusive policy. In contrast to this it may be observed, that protestant England is often represented in the Levant, in subordinate consular situations, by Roman-Catholic or Greek agents. This is, however, less the case at present, than it has been at other times. There are also many merchants in Syria from Roman-Catholic countries.

The various Roman-Catholic families in Syria, as well as in other parts of the Levant, have maintained their influence by intermarriages, in consequence of the contiguity of Roman-Catholic countries to the Mediterranean, much more easily than could possibly be the case with the remoter protestants of England, Holland, and Germany.

The number of Latin or Frank Roman-Catholic missionaries, whom devotion and the papal system induce to visit Syria and the Holy Land, and who take up their residence either in monasteries or in the principal cities, is never inconsiderable. It is indeed, at present, far inferior to what it was formerly: but, for the whole of this tract, their number, even at this day, cannot be computed to be less than seventy. The influence of the European friars constantly serves to maintain in the Levant, in which they lead a migratory life, a kind of European or Frank attachment among many Levantine families of western origin or connexions.

PROTESTANTS.

THE protestants in Syria are but few in number; consisting, principally, either of consular representatives of protestant nations, or of merchants from those countries. In former times, there was an English protestant chaplain fixed at Aleppo: the office has been adorned by the names of bishop Frampton, of Maundrell, and of Pococke. Recently, protestant missionaries have visited the Levant, and some of them have begun to take up their residence in this interesting region.

Before we quit this brief topic, it may be useful to observe the footing on which protestants are represented to have stood about a hundred years ago, in their relation to the native christians. For this purpose, we shall select from the work already so often quoted, the following passages, written in a lively style; and tending, pointedly, to illustrate the extremely disadvantageous ground which a protestant must occupy in the view of oriental christians, whenever he allows, or is represented by others as allowing, questions of christian doctrine or worship to be brought before the tribunal of mere antiquity, usage, or tradition. One of the Jesuit missionaries, writing from Aleppo, says—

“You will ask me, how the English and the Dutch conduct themselves. Here, as in Holland and England, they observe neither fast nor abstinence: but it occasions scandal. The people of the country say that they are not christians; and the Turks themselves regard them as people without religion. They are sometimes affected with these reproaches; and, not being able to bear them, many of them during Lent eat meat only in secret. Those, who act like men of good faith, confess that they are extremely surprised to see, that the religion of all the christians of the East resembles that which they profess in scarcely any thing.

“This marked difference gives us a great advantage over them. “It is,” we say to them, “it is to the happy times of christianity when nascent, that you would have us ascend in order to justify the traditions. It is to the first four centuries, that you appeal on the subject. Ask, then, all these people who surround you: they will answer, that, in all their practices, (which are the same with ours,) they only follow the Apostolical traditions—traditions which they received from the famous Antioch, which they regard as their

mother." This objection embarrasses our protestants. They dare not advance that Confession, Fasting, Lent, Abstinence, the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Purgatory, the adoration of the cross, the invocation of the saints, &c. are Papistical inventions, manufactured by Satan: their eyes, their very eyes make them see the contrary. It is not here a question of Papists, or of Babylon, or of the Antichrist—great words these, which, pronounced with the hardy tone inspired by heresy, may have an imposing effect in Europe, but which signify nothing here: they must attack a thousand christian nations: they must renounce antiquity: they must condemn Antioch, and abandon the Apostles. This step it is difficult to take: and, therefore, these gentlemen avoid, as much as possible, entering with us upon a dispute where they would have the worst; and, more wise than in France, they observe, on all contested points and on all the rites of religion, a profound and respectful silence, well persuaded that they would not have on their side the suffrage of the Greek church.

"This conformity of sentiments between the Greek and Latin churches sometimes makes upon right hearts a salutary impression. I was particularly acquainted, some years since, with a minister of the Dutch nation: he was a man of much talent: I often conversed with him, as he spoke latin easily: he was about to set sail; but, before his departure, said to me in confidence, that he was going to Italy, there to weigh well an important affair, concerning which, what he had seen with his eyes had led him to make serious reflections which had changed him.

"Persons of the pretended Reformed religion would not dare here to dogmatize: at least they would not do it with impunity. Some time since, an English minister, zealous for his sect, went to great expenses in printing a Catechism according to his fashion. He aimed at infusing into the spirit and heart of all the Christians the poison with which he was filled. But they trampled it under foot: they tore it, and burnt it, without the missionaries being obliged to interfere in the least degree.*

* The learned Orientalist Pococke, who, from the year 1690 to 1696, was Chaplain to the English at Aleppo, subsequently published in England, (besides many other valuable pieces,) the Work "de Veritate Fidei Christianæ" of Grotius, with whom he was personally acquainted; and, likewise, a Selection from the Liturgy of the Church of England—both in Arabic. The Treatise of Grotius has been reprinted by the Church Missionary Society, and copies have been circulated in the Levant. Of the Liturgy there is a copy in the library of the Society: it was printed A. D. 1674. It contains the Forms of Confession and Absolution, with several other prayers, and the Litany. The author is ignorant what steps were taken for the circulation of this book, or what accounts

"The christians of all the nations of the East do not know what it is to doubt of the reality of the body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist; and they have so great an attachment to their Fasts and their Lents, that they would die, rather than fail in them. They have also received from Antioch, their neighbor and their mistress in the faith, the custom of praying for the dead. The invocation of the saints, and in particular of St. George, is, to them, so dear and so precious, that they would rather suffer themselves to be hacked to pieces, than renounce it.

"It is impossible to add any thing to the profound veneration, which even the Turks have for Mary. They call her the mother of the great prophet, Jesus;* and, in this quality, they reverence her to such a degree, as to impale those Jews who dare blaspheme against her. What a strange contrast! Men, born in the bosom of Christendom, refuse to Mary honors, which are rendered to her by the most implacable enemies of the christian name!

"Further, the respect of Mahomedans is not limited to the mother of our God: the sepulchre of the Messiah is one of the objects of their pilgrimages of devotion. They regard those who have visited the sepulchres of the two prophets as men of extraordinary piety: and to this double pilgrimage, are attached certain marks of distinction. "Such an one is a saint," they would say: "he has been at Jerusalem and Mecca."

"One of our merchants, who has resided a long time at the Holy City, and has seen, various times, these Turkish pilgrims, related to me that they go upon their knees, that they crawl upon the ground from the gate to the holy sepulchre; but, before entering there, they take off the bandage of their turban: this is with them a mark of ignominy, when done upon compulsion; and a mark of respect, when done voluntarily—that then they prostrate themselves; that they make profound obeisance, and strike their head upon the pavement. "This spectacle," he added, "has always edified me, and has sometimes touched me even to tears." The Grand Signior himself, among all the pompous and magnificent titles which he assumes in the

may exist of its reception in the countries where Arabic is spoken. It seems, however, by no means improbable that the above-cited passage has reference to this pious and laudable effort of Pococke, to make the christians of the East acquainted with the Church of England.

* But they would not call her "God-mother, Deipara, Mother-of-God:" here, therefore, *this impassioned encomiast* of the Turks has stretched the bow too far.

orders which emanate from the throne, prides himself in adopting that of Protector and Preserver of the holy city of Jerusalem. It is a consolation, not a little moving, for poor enslaved christians to see their proud masters do so much honor to the God whom they adore."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, Vol. II. pp. 167—172.

It would be an easy task, were it requisite, to refute the various misrepresentations contained in the preceding extract. The supposed merit of the rigid abstinences, so much extolled, might well be contrasted with the moderate views of the Apostle—*One believeth that he may eat all things; another, who is weak, eateth herbs. He, that eateth, eateth to the Lord; for he giveth God thanks: he, that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks.* (Rom. xiv. 2, 6.) The preference which this Jesuit gives to the Turk above the Protestant, might find its parallel, though in a higher degree, in those words, *Not this man, but Barabbas*: for he has more than half offered the right-hand of fellowship to the Mahommedans, who would rob Jesus Christ of his Divinity; while he, at the same time, calumniates those in England and in Holland, who honor, not less than the Romanist, Christ as the Son of God, and reject only their excessive worship, practically amounting to adoration, of the blessed Virgin. Scarcely, even, will a correct disciple of Rome be brought to admire the juxta-position, which he has so smartly effected, of Jerusalem and Mecca! But it may suffice briefly to remark, on one main point, that, at the bottom of all these delusive representations, there is a *mystery of iniquity*, which still works in the Levant. The enemies to the entrance of the pure light of the Gospel will adopt the same tactics as formerly: any friend, rather than the friend of the Bible, will be the object of their choice; the Turkish civil power is even now courted, with a view to obstructing the labors of that glorious Society, which has embodied in its fundamental law the best part of the spirit of Protestantism. Upon this topic, however, as belonging to the affairs of the present day, it will be proper to treat more largely in another part of this volume.

MAHOMEDANS.**SONNITES.**

THE Sonnites are that division of the Mahomedan world, which asserts the legitimacy of the first three caliphs—Abu-Beker, Omar, and Othman. It is not designed to enter here into the various opinions of this body. In addition to the Koran, they admit a multitude of traditions and interpretations; while the rival sect, the Shiites, though they admit some traditions, yet hold them more loosely, and are almost considered by the Sonnites as unbelievers. The Sonnites regard the Grand Signior of Constantinople as their civil head and protector; and the Turks and Arabs of Syria are, generally, of this sect. Persia is the patron of the opposite party: yet these, also, as will appear under the next head, are found in Syria.

METAWALIES.

THIS is the title by which many Mahomedans in Syria are distinguished, as being the followers of Ali, the fourth Caliph, the cousin and son-in-law of Mahomet; maintaining his right to be the immediate successor of his father-in-law. In this they resemble the Persians, and are in opposition to the Turks. The following extract will give the reader a general view of the extent to which their influence reaches in these parts.

“The Metawali make, either entirely or in part, profession of that Mahomedan sect which is dominant in Persia; and, consequently, they are Shiites. Like the Persians, therefore, they neither eat nor drink with people of another religion; nor would they even use a plate from which a stranger has eaten, till they have well cleansed it. They even hold themselves to be defiled, when a stranger simply touches their clothes. As they are under the domination of the Turks, they dare not treat the Sonnites with contempt. They are sometimes under the necessity of passing themselves off as Sonnites.

“In general, neither the Sonnites nor the christians like to dwell among them; and the Maronites, who serve as sec-

retaries to the Sheiks of the Metawali, seldom remain with them for many years. They have, nevertheless, for some centuries been in possession of several districts. A family named Harfoosh, the head of whom takes the title of Emir, lives at Balbec, and pays the rent of this district direct to Constantinople. At Sour [*i. e.* Tyre,] and in the adjacent country called Belad B'sherri, there are seven or eight Sheiks of the family Nasif, which govern there, and pay their rent to the Pacha of Saide.* There are also Sheiks of the Metawali of the family El Kuanza, which govern at Kirrinie and Hurmel, a town on the river Orontes. They pay their tribute to the Bey of Homs."—*Niebuhr*, Vol. II. p. 347.

DRUSES.

This people appears to be one of the most considerable in Syria, on account both of their numbers, and their political situation in Mount Lebanon. Although less numerous than the christians, yet, together with them, they constitute nearly the whole of the population of the mountain. Neither the christians nor the Druses, however, have the government in their hands. The Emir Bechir, who governs Mount Lebanon, is not a Druse. The government was formerly held by Mahomedans, whose policy it was to balance the Christian and Druse interests. The present Emir is said to be a christian; but, in conformity with this line of policy, and to keep up appearances with his superior, the Pacha of Acre, he complies with many Mahomedan usages.

The extent of territory in which the Druses are to be found is thus described by one of the Jesuit missionaries:—

"We have also in our mountains another nation, of which it is not easy to discover either the origin or the religion. They are called Druses. This nation inhabits a part of Mount Lebanon, the mountains above Saide and Balbec, and the country of Jebaile and Tripoli.

"These Druses extend even into Egypt."—*Lettres Ed. et Curieuses*, Vol. I. p. 366.

The division of this body into religious and secular orders is described in the following terms by Niebuhr; a traveller

* So styled in the *Firmane* of the Grand Signior; but more commonly called, from his modern place of residence, Pacha of Acre.

of the greatest merit, and who has collected upon the state of various bodies in the East more copious and minute information than is to be found perhaps in any other single author. Subsequent travellers appear to have borrowed largely from him. It is not with any design to detract from his merit, (which would be impossible,) that the extracts made from his work are less copious than those made from subsequent travellers: but the inquisitive reader may better be recommended to consult the original materials. Niebuhr observes—

“The Druses are divided into Akals, that is to say ecclesiastics; and Djahels, or Seculars. The ecclesiastics are dependant upon three Akals, who are Sheiks among them; of whom one dwells in the district Arkub, the second in the district Tschuf el Heite, and the third in the district Hasbeia. The Akals are distinguished from the Seculars by their white dress. They have generally good houses on the hills; and, judging by those few which I saw on the road from Saide to Damascus, it seems to me that they have not chosen the worst situations. On Thursday evening, which among the Orientals is called the night of Friday, they assemble in the house of one or other of their fraternity, to perform their worship and pray for the whole nation: the wives of ecclesiastics may be present; but they do not admit Seculars, not even a Sheik or an Emir. They despise all employments of honor in the world: but perhaps, in this they make a virtue of necessity; for, on the return of Hakem, they hope to be kings, viziers, and pachas. They do not marry the daughters of Seculars; and they even carry their aversion to the property of the great so far, as not to eat with the Sheiks and Emirs of their own nation. Akals eat only with Akals; and with the peasants and other poor people, who, they are certain, earn their bread by labor.”—*Voyages en Arabie, &c. Vol. II. p. 349.*

The following passages, extracted from a more recent traveller, the enterprising Berckhardt, will develop the political state, and describe some of the more curious customs, of the Druses. The account is rendered the more interesting, by his having discovered that these people are not confined to Mount Lebanon, but have spread themselves to a district on the east of Damascus, the Haouran.

“It is now about one hundred and twenty years, since the government of the mountain has been always entrusted, by the Pachas of Acre and Tripoli, to an individual of the fami-

ly of Shehab, to which the Emir Bechir belongs. This family derives its origin from Mecca; where its name is known, in the history of Mohammed and the first Caliphs: they are Mussulmans, and some of them pretend even to be Sherifs. About the time of the Crusades, for I have been unable to ascertain the exact period, the Shehabs left the Hedjas, and settled in a village of the Haouran, to which they gave their family name: it is still known by the appellation of Shohba; and is remarkable for its antiquities, of which I have given some account, in my Journal of a tour in the Haouran. The family being noble, or of Emir origin, were considered proper persons to be governors of the mountain; for it was and still is thought necessary, that the government should not be in the hands of a Druse. The Druses being always divided into parties, a governor chosen from among them would have involved the country in the quarrels of his own party, and he would have been always endeavoring to exterminate his adversaries; whereas a Turk, by carefully managing both parties, maintains a balance between them, though he is never able to overpower them completely; he can oppose the christian inhabitants to the Druses, who are in much smaller numbers than the former; and thus he is enabled to keep the country in a state of tranquillity, and in subjection to the Pachas. This policy has long been successful, notwithstanding the turbulent spirit of the mountaineers, the continual party feuds, and the ambitious projects of many Chiefs, as well of the Druses as of the reigning house. The Pachas were careful, also, not to permit any one to become too powerful: the princes of the reigning family were continually changed; and party-spirit was revived in the mountain, whenever the interests of the Porte required it."—*Burckhardt's Travels in Syria*, pp. 194, 195.

This writer having observed, that, at present, the most rich, shrewd, and powerful individual in the mountain, el Sheik Bechir, is a Druse, and is a dangerous rival to the ruling prince, the Emir Bechir, who can do nothing important without his consent, takes occasion from this circumstance thus to develope still more clearly the political state of Mount Lebanon:—

"It will be asked, perhaps, why the Sheik does not set aside the Emir Bechir, and take the ostensible power into his own hands. Many persons believe that he entertains some such design; while others, better informed perhaps,

assert that the Sheik will never make the attempt, because he knows that the mountaineers would never submit to a Druse chief. The Druses are certainly in a better condition at present, than they would be under the absolute sway of the Sheik, who would soon begin to oppress instead of protecting them, as he now does; and the christians, who are a warlike people, detest the name of Druse too much ever to yield quietly to a chief of that community. It is, probably, in the view of attaching the christians more closely to him, and to oppose them in some measure to the Druses, that the Emir Bechir, with his whole family, has secretly embraced the christian religion. The Shehab, as I have already mentioned, were formerly members of the true Mussulman faith; and they never have had among them any followers of the doctrines of the Druses. They still affect publicly to observe the Mohammedan rites: they profess to fast during the Ramadan; and the Pachas still treat them as Turks; but it is no longer matter of doubt, that the greater part of the Shehab, with the Emir Bechir at their head, have really embraced christianity: that branch only of the family which governs at Rasheya and Hasbeya continue in the religion of their ancestors.

"Although the christians of the mountain have thus become more attached to their prince, their condition, on the whole, is not bettered; as the Emir scarcely dares do justice to a christian against a Druse: still, however, the christians rejoice in having a prince of their own faith; and whose counsellors and household are, with very few exceptions, of the same religion. There are not more than forty or fifty persons about him, who are not christians. How far the Shehab may be sincere in their professions, I am unable to decide: it is probable, that, if their interests should require it, they would again embrace the religion of their ancestors."—*Travels in Syria*, pp. 197, 198.

The following is the novel and interesting account given by Burckhardt of the Druses residing in the Haouran:—

"In manners, these Druses very much resemble those of the mountains of Kesrouan. The families form clans almost independent of each other; and among whom there are frequent quarrels. Insults are studiously avenged by the respective families; and the law of blood revenge is in full force among them, without being mitigated by the admission of any pecuniary commutation. They all go armed; as do

the Turks and christians of the Haouran, in general. Few Druses have more than one wife; but she may be divorced on very slight pretexts.

With respect to their religion, the Druses of the Haouran, like those in Mount Libanus, have the class of men called Akoul (sing. Aakel,) who are distinguished from the rest by a white turban, and the peculiarity of the folds in which they wear it. The Akoul are not permitted to smoke tobacco: they never swear; and are very reserved in their manners and conversation. I was informed that these were their only obligations; and it appears probable, for I observed Akoul boys of eight or ten years of age, from whom nothing more difficult could well be expected, and to whom it is not likely that any important secret would be imparted. I have seen Akouls of that age, whose fathers were not of the order; because, as they told me, they could not abstain from smoking and swearing. The Sheiks are, for the greater part, Akouls. The Druses pray in their chapels, but not at stated periods: these chapels are called "an insulated place;" and none but Druses are allowed to enter them. They affect to follow the doctrine of Mohammed; but few of them pray according to the Turkish forms: they fast during Ramadan, in the presence of strangers; but eat at their own homes, and even of the flesh of the wild boar, which is frequently met with in these districts.

"It is a singular belief, both among the western Druses and those of the Haouran, that there are a great number of Druses in England; an opinion founded, perhaps, upon the fanatical opinions of the christians of Syria, who deny the English to be followers of Christ, because they neither confess nor fast. When I first arrived at the Druse village of Aaere, there was a large company in the Medhafe, and the Sheik had no opportunity of speaking to me in private: he therefore called for his inkstand, and wrote upon a piece of paper the following questions; which I answered as well as I could, and returned him the paper: "Where do the five Wadys flow to, in your country?—Do you know the grain of the plant Leiledj; and where is it sown?—What is the name of the Sultan of China?—Are the towns of Hadjar and Nedjran in the Yemen known to you?—Is Hadjar in ruins? and who will rebuild it?—Is the Moehdy (the Saviour) yet come, or is he now upon the earth?"

"I have not been able to obtain any information concerning the period at which the Druses first settled in these

parts. Miu Kadim a long time ago, was the general answer of all those whom I questioned on the subject. During my stay at Aere, news arrived there, that a body of one hundred and twenty Druses had left the western mountains, and were coming to settle in Haouran."—*Travels in Syria: pp. 303—305.*

The following delineation of the customs and character of the Druses is taken from that part of Burckhardt's account, which relates to those of them who inhabit mount Lebanon:—

"With respect to the true religion of the Druses, none but a learned Druse can satisfy the inquirer's curiosity. What I have already said of the Auzeyres is equally applicable to the Druses—their religious opinions will remain for ever a secret, unless revealed by a Druse. Their customs, however, may be described; and as far as they can tend to elucidate the mystery, the veil may be drawn aside by the researches of the traveller. It seems to be a maxim with them, to adopt the religious practices of the country in which they reside, and to profess the creed of the strongest: hence, they all profess Islamism in Syria; and even those who have been baptized, on account of their alliance with the Shehab family, still practise the exterior forms of the Mohammedan faith. There is no truth in the assertion, that the Druses go one day to the mosque and the next to the church: they all profess Islamism; and, whenever they mix with Mohammedans, they perform the rites prescribed by their religion. In private, however, they break the fast of Ramadan, curse Mohammed, indulge in wine, and eat food forbidden by the Koran. They bear an inveterate hatred to all religions except their own; but more particularly to that of the Franks, chiefly in consequence of a tradition current among them, that the Europeans will one day overthrow their commonwealth.

"Nothing is more sacred with a Druse than his *public* reputation. He will overlook an insult, if known only to him who has offered it; and will put up with blows where his interest is concerned, provided nobody is a witness: but the slightest abuse given in public, he revenges with the greatest fury. This is the most remarkable feature of the national character: in public, a Druse may appear honorable, but he is easily tempted to a contrary behavior, when he has reason to think that his conduct will remain undiscovered. The ties of blood and friendship have no power

among them: the son no sooner attains the years of maturity, than he begins to plot against his father.

"The Akal are those who are supposed to know the doctrines of the Druse religion: they superintend divine worship in the chapels or, as they are called, Kbaloue; and they instruct the children in a kind of catechism. They are obliged to abstain from swearing and all abusive language, and dare not wear any article of gold or silk in their dress. Many of them make it a rule never to eat of any food, nor to receive any money, which they suspect to have been improperly acquired: for this reason, whenever they have to receive considerable sums of money, they take care that it shall be first exchanged for other coin. The Sheik el Nedjem, who generally accompanies the Sheik Bechir in his visits to the Emir, never tastes food in the palace of the latter, nor even smokes a pipe there; always asserting, that whatever the Emir possesses has been unlawfully obtained. There are different degrees of Akal, and women are also admitted into the order; a privilege which many avail themselves of, from parsimony, as they are thus exempted from wearing the expensive head-dress and rich silks fashionable among them.

"The best feature in the Druse character, is that peculiar law of hospitality, which forbids them ever to betray a guest. I made particular inquiries on this subject; and I am satisfied that no consideration of interest or dread of power will induce a Druse to give up a person, who has once placed himself under his protection. Persons from all parts of Syria are in the constant practice of taking refuge in the mountain, where they are in perfect security, from the moment they enter upon the Emir's territory: should the prince ever be tempted by large offers to consent to give up a refugee, the whole country would rise, to prevent such a stain upon their national reputation. The mighty Djezzar, who had invested his own creatures with the government of the mountain, never could force them to give up a single individual of all those who fled thither from his tyranny. Whenever he became very urgent in his demands, the Emir informed the fugitive of his danger, and advised him to conceal himself for a time in some more distant part of his territory: an answer was then returned to Djezzar, that the object of his resentment had fled. The asylum which is thus afforded by the mountain, is one of the greatest advantages that the inhabitants of Syria enjoy over those

in the other parts of the Turkish dominions.”—*Burckhardt’s Travels in Syria*: pp. 200—204.

It will have appeared from the preceding extracts, that the religious opinions of the Druses have been the object of curious investigation to travellers and others. The author has carefully consulted what has been said concerning this people by the Jesuit missionaries (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, Vols. I. and II.) and by Niebuhr, Volney, and Burckhardt; writers, who, at successive periods during the last century, have made actual research in Syria, relative to this singular people. Burckhardt seems to give up the subject in despair. We must, not, however, overlook what appears to be the most authentic information as yet received concerning their faith, and which is to be found in the *Chrestomathie Arabe* of the Baron De Sacy (Vol. II. pp. 334—403.) published at Paris in the year 1806; where the reader will find a French translation of several Arabic manuscripts reputed to be the sacred books of the Druses. The learned translator intimates in his notes, that he has, for many years, been collecting ample materials for a work on this subject. The following extracts from what he has already made public may prove not unacceptable to the English reader: and they will abundantly suffice to give the missionary student a general idea of the character of the Druse creed; a creed professedly secret, and certainly—so far as the veil of mystery may be supposed to have been drawn aside by this translation of their books—very unprofitable.

“The Druses designate themselves by the name of Unitarians. They are called Dorouy or Duzzeyyeh. They are the disciples of Hamza, son of Ali; and honor with divine worship Hakem-biamr-Allah, Caliph of Egypt, of the family of Obaid-Allah Mahdi.”

Abridged Life of Hakem.

“Our lord Hakem, whose name be glorified, was the son of Ishmael of the race of Ali, son of Abu-Talib, and his mother was of the race of Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet. He was born at Cairo, in the year 375 of the Hegira. His father declared him his successor in the year 383. He ascended the throne in the year 386, and reigned 25 years. He dis-

appeared on the night of the 27th of the month Shoual, in the year 411. The time of his sojourn in this world, from his birth to his disappearing, was thirty-six years and seven months. He wrote a *Venerable Charter*, and suspended it in the Mosques. He then disappeared. We expect his return in a short time, if it please him. He will reign over all the earth, throughout all ages. 'Those whom he has invited to the profession of his unity and have not obeyed, that is, the men of all other sects and religions, will be subjected to him, put in irons, and laid under an annual tribute; but as for the Unitarians, they will reign with him throughout all ages."

Copy of the Charter which was found suspended in the Mosques, at the time of the disappearance of our lord the Imam Hakem.

"In the name of God the pitying and merciful.

"The future recompenses are destined to those, who rouse themselves from the slumbers of the thoughtless, and retire from the folly of the senseless; to him, whose faith is firm and sincere, and who hastens to return to the Most High God; and to him, who is his vicegerent and witness to mortals, his vicar upon earth, to whom he has confided the care of his creatures, the prince of the believers.

"O men, the threatenings, the exhortations, the promises, which till now have been made to you by your sovereign chief, the Imam of your age, the successor of your prophets, the witness of your Creator, the vicar of him who will render witness against you for the crimes which cause your perdition; in short, all the counsels and warnings which have been lavished upon you, are more than sufficient for those who have heard with submission and docility, who have entered into the right way, who have resisted their passions for the salvation of their souls, and who have preferred the future life to this present world. But, all this notwithstanding, you are still plunged in the torrent of ignorance, and wandering in the desert of error: you amuse yourselves unceasingly, till surprised by that day with which you have been threatened. Certainly you will know one day, yes, certainly you will know one day, ah, if ye were instructed in a sure knowledge.

"You have had a multitude of benefits heaped upon you, in such abundance, that none of those who have preceded you have ever received the like; neither have any of the people that have been before you in past ages, neither the companions of the flight of Mahomet, nor those who received him hospitably in Medina, ever attained to a more exalted degree of prosperity.

"It is not on account of your merit or good works, O men and women, that the vicegerent of God has bestowed upon you these benefits: but from his kindness, goodness, tenderness and pity for you; and in order to prove you, that he might know who among you are given to good works.

"As to the exterior precious benefits which ye have received from him, they are talents heaped up of gold and silver, horses of the greatest price, all sorts of cattle, and a multitude of other gifts, as pensions, fiefs, lands, and an infinity of temporal goods. Besides, he has raised you all, generally and individually, to the most sublime honors and ranks, that ye might walk in the paths of intelligent beings. He has honored you with the quality of Emirs, and decorated you with the most eminent titles. He has extended your power on earth, to the east and to the west, in the plains and in the mountains, by sea and by land. You have been made kings and sultans. You have received tribute. By the aid of the vicegerent of God, you have been put in full liberty. All hostile and factious parties have come to submit themselves to you.

"As to the interior gifts which you have received from him, of this number is the intercourse which you have externally seemed to have with him; intercourse, which constitutes your glory in this world, and the hope of your happiness in eternity.* Another of his internal benefits, is the having revived the laws of Islamism and of the faith, which are in the eyes of God the true religion.†

"It is thus that you have been raised since his time, in honor and purity, above all other sects: he has distinguished you from the adorers of idols;‡ he has separated them from you, in frustrating their hopes and desires: he has

* "This intercourse between Hakem and his subjects, and all the actions of his humanity, are, according to the doctrine of Hamza, merely appearances designed to veil his divinity and incomprehensible nature." (Note by De Sacy: p. 373.)

† "That is to say, according to the doctrine of the Druses, all the precepts of the literal and the allegorical doctrine, that is of Islamism and the faith, have their true explication only in the Unitarian religion." (Note by De Sacy.)

‡ "These adorers of idols are the Jews and the christians." (Note by De Sacy.)

overtaken their churches and their schools for religion, although they had subsisted for a long course of ages: the partisans of these sects, tolerated among Mussulmans, have been subjected to you, by good will or force: they have entered in crowds into the religion of God.

"But you have hated knowledge and wisdom: you have despised his benefits, and cast them behind your back: you have preferred the good of this world, as did before you the children of Israel in the time of Moses (upon whom be peace!) The vicegerent of God was unwilling to compel you against your choice: he has shut the door of his preaching:* he has caused you to be taught wisdom: out of his palace he has opened a school of science, where were to be had all instruction concerning religion, the jurisprudence of the Alcoran upon things permitted or forbidden, decisions and judgments conformably to the books of the ancients and the books of Abraham and Moses. (May the favors of God repose on all of them!) He has given you paper and pensions, ink and pens, in order that you might attain to that which might render you happy, opening your eyes and delivering you from your foolishness.

"The blessed and Most High God hath said—"If my servants ask you concerning me, tell them that I am near; and that I hear the prayers of those who call upon me." Up, then, O men! If you keep yourselves in these desert and uncultivated places,† your eyes will trace the commencement of that route, which was taken by the Emir of the believers at the moment when he was concealed. Assemble yourselves, therefore, with your children: purify your hearts: render your intentions pure before God, the Lord of the universe: be sincerely converted to him: avail yourselves of the most powerful mediation with him, that he may pardon you, and grant you the return of his vicegerent. But take good heed that none of you inquire into the course taken by the Emir of the faithful (on whom be the peace of God!) or endeavor to learn what has become of him. Cease

* "That is, he has destroyed the monastery named Deir-alkarr." (Note by De Sacy: page 374 referring to page 79.)

† This passage has an allusion to a curious piece of history respecting the disappearance of Hakem; who, according to the account of some, died a violent death—some pretending that his sister caused him to be murdered. (*Chrestomathie*, II. 87.) De Sacy, in his note on this passage, observes, that these desert places refer to a part of the city of Cairo situated to the south-east, and the Mount Mokattam. "It was hither," he remarks, "that Hakem used to go out for his evening walks; and, the night when he perished, he had gone out this way, and reached the Mount Mokattam, where he was killed. The next morning, the principal officers of the palace, with a numerous train, went out by the same route to seek for the Caliph, whose body was found in a well near Holwan." (Note by De Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*: Vol. II. p. 376.)

not to reiterate your prayers, all of you together, at the entering of the way, saying, "Behold our abiding place!" and, when the moment of mercy is come for you, the vicegerent of God, satisfied with your conduct, will, of his own choice and free will, appear at your head—he will shew himself in the midst of you.

"The servant of the empire of the prince of the believers (on whom be the peace of God!) wrote this in the year 411.

"May God be propitious to Mahomet, the prince of apostles, the seal of prophets!

"Care shall be taken for the security of those religious persons, who shall observe what is written in this document; and none shall be hindered from copying and reading it. May God render it profitable and useful to those, to whom he shall grant grace to observe its contents!

"Anathema, anathema to whosoever shall not copy it, and shall not read it to the penitents in a low chapel.*

"Anathema, Anathema to whosoever shall have the opportunity of copying it, and shall neglect to do so. Praise be to God alone."

The oath, by which the initiated Druses are admitted, is given by the Baron De Sacy, according to the following translation:—

Form of engagement to the vicegerent of this age.

"I put my confidence in our lord Hakem, the sole, the one, the eternal, exempt from all association, and all number.

"Such an one, son of such an one, being of sound mind and body, in full liberty and acting by an obedience perfectly voluntary, without violence or constraint, does, by the present act of submission, to which he binds his soul and body, confess and declare that he renounces all sects, professions, religions, and creeds, and acknowledges no other obedience than that to our lord Hakem (whose name be glorified!) obedience which consists in serving and adoring

* "It seems probable to me, that this piece was to be read only by those who were initiated into the doctrine of Hamza; and it is doubtless with this view, that the promise is given of watching over the security of those who conform to the orders made to them. It is in this view, also, that the reading of this document is commanded to be in some retired and subterraneous place, which should serve as a chapel for the assembling of the initiated." (Note by De Sacy: p. 377.)

him—that he will serve none other with him, past, present, or to come—that he gives over his soul, his body, his goods, his children, and all that he possesses, to our lord Hakem (whose name be glorified!)—that he submits to his disposal of him, without opposing him in any thing, or disapproving any thing in his works, whether he bestow pleasure or pain. If he renounces the religion of our lord Hakem (whose name be glorified!) to which he has submitted by this writing, and to which he has bound his soul by this authentic declaration, or if he reveals it to others, or if he disobeys any of its commandments, he shall no longer have any part with the Creator who is adored: he shall be deprived of the advantages which he might have received from the ministers [of the religion of the Unity,] and he shall merit the chastisements of God most high (whose name be glorified!) Whosoever confesses, that he has not in heaven any God worthy of adoration, nor on earth any Imam existing other than our lord Hakem (whose name be glorified!) is in the number of the happy Unitarians.

“Written in such a month, of such a year of the era* of the servant of our lord (whose name be glorified!) and of his slave Hamza, son of Ali, son of Ahmet, the director of those who are obedient, and the avenger of those who adore many Gods, and of apostates by the sword of our lord (whose name be glorified!) and by the force of his sole power.”

The christian reader will discern, in the midst of this unintelligible jargon, various traces of Judaism, christianity, and Mohammedanism. The general scope of the system, supposing these documents to exhibit it truly, would seem to be pure Deism. The doctrine, however, of incarnate Deity, and the expectation of a second advent of the head of the Druse religion, are points of resemblance to the New Testament, peculiarly striking. That the Druses are not to inquire into the time of this second advent, is analogous to the feeling which the Jews at present have concerning their Messiah; and the belief that all nations are to be subject to Hakem may be a corruption, either of the secular expectations of the Jews, or of the spiritual hopes of christians. In respect to the practical or experimental part of this religion, while much is said of acknowledging undeserved favors, while human merit seems to be disclaimed, and

* “The era of the Druses, or of Hamza, begins with the year 408 of the Hegira, that is, about A. D. 1016.” (Note by De Saey: p. 379.)

an allusion is even made to the idea of mediation; it is nevertheless impossible not to see, that the exhortations to piety all proceed on the idea that man has the power in himself to become pious. However far Mohammedans, Druses, Deïsts, or the propagators of any other false religion, may extract matter from the Old or the New Testament, yet they all drop the doctrine of man's corruption by the fall—both the fact, and all its train of inevitable consequences. These documents form an additional proof of the tendency of mankind to corrupt pure revelation, and to fabricate a religion of their own; while the barrier of secresy, with which they endeavor to surround it, is but a stratagem of the arch-enemy to preclude the detection and overthrow of their errors.

A curious additional circumstance shall here be quoted from the writings of the Jesuit Missionaries, which, if correct seems to prove that the Druses are not exempt from the reproach of idolatry.

"There are only two of their villages, which have the honor (speaking their language) of possessing the statue of their great legislator.

"His statue, according to their law, must be of gold or of silver. They inclose it in a wooden case, and exhibit it only on the day of their grand ceremonies; when they address their vows to it, to obtain the object of their desires. They imagine that they are speaking to God himself, so great is their veneration for this idol. The only two villages where it is preserved are called Bagelin and Fre-dis."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses: Vol. 1. pp. 371, 372.*

Volney has intimated, that the Druses have, at different times, imposed upon the missionaries in the Levant, by a profession of christianity. It is almost superfluous to observe, that the statements of an avowed enemy of the gospel are to be received with extreme reserve. The following extract from that traveller, so far as it may demonstrate the facility of temper of the Druses, is worthy of attention; but cannot be regarded as a faithful account of the proceedings of the missionaries:—

"When they go among the Turks, they affect the external appearance of the Mussulman: they enter the Mosques, and perform the ablutions and prayers. Or are they among the Maronites? They follow them to church, and take the holy water like them. Many of them, importuned by the Missionaries have received baptism: then, solicited by the

Turks, they have allowed themselves to be circumcised; and have finished by dying, neither Christians nor Mussulmans."—*Folney's Travels in Syria: Chap. 22. Section 3.*

It will, however, be proper to hear what the Romish Missionaries themselves relate concerning the reception which their labors have had among the Druses. They speak without reserve of their total want of success; and even seem to regard the conversion of this people as a hopeless experiment. With the following extract, the account of the Druses shall conclude.

"We often perform a mission to the Catholics who are in their country; and we have as often the pain of seeing that this nation is very far from the kingdom of God. It is true that they love the christians, and do not love the Turks. It is true, likewise, that they prefer calling themselves christians rather than Turks, although they wear the green turban. They even receive us kindly and joyfully into their houses.

"Notwithstanding these favorable dispositions, their inviolable attachment for their religion, which is a frightful compound of christian and Mohammedan ceremonies, and still more, their obstinacy in refusing instruction, give just reason to fear that this nation will persist in shutting its eyes to the light of the Gospel."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses: Vol. I. pp. 372, 373.*

ANSARI.

THE Ansari are a people residing in the mountainous parts near Antioch, and in other places of Northern Syria. The origin of this sect, marvellous and semi-fabulous, is thus given by Asseman, translated from the Syriac of Bar-Hebræus:—

"Whereas many desire to know the origin of the Nazaræi, receive the following account from us. In the year of the Greeks 1202,* there appeared an old man in the region Akula [this is Cupha, a city of Arabia, as Bar-Hebræus elsewhere notices], in a village which the inhabitants call Nazaria. This old man having the appearance of a person given to severe fasts, great poverty, and strict devotion,

*Corresponding to A. D. 891.

many of the natives of that place followed him; out of whom having chosen twelve, according to the number of the apostles, he commanded them to preach a new doctrine to the people. The governor of the place, hearing of this, commanded to apprehend him; and, having cast him into a dungeon in his own house, swore that on the following morning he would have him crucified. On the same night, the governor, going to bed half intoxicated with wine, placed the key of the dungeon under his pillow: a maid of the household, perceiving this, when he was fast asleep withdrew the key; and, pitying this old man, given to fasting and prayer, opened the dungeon, set him at liberty, and then restored the key to its former place: the governor, going in the morning to the dungeon, and opening it with the same key, and finding no person, imagined the culprit to have been miraculously removed; and as the maid, through fear, kept silence as to what she had done, the report spread abroad that the old man had escaped from the prison while the doors were shut. A short time after, having found two of his disciples in a distant country, he contrived to persuade them that he had been delivered by angels from the prison, and conveyed to a desert-place. He then wrote a book of his religion, and gave it to them with an order to promulgate it, and invite men to receive his new doctrines. These doctrines were of the following nature:—"I, such an one, commonly believed to be the son of Othman of the town Nazaria, saw Christ, who is Jesus, who also is the word, and the director, and Achmed the son of Mohammed the son of Hanaphia of the sons of Ali; the same also is the Angel Gabriel: and he said to me, thou art the reader: thou art the truth. Thou art the camel, that retainest anger against the infidels. Thou art the heifer, bearing the yoke of the believers. Thou art the spirit. Thou art John the son of Zacharias. Preach therefore to men, that they kneel four times in their prayers; twice before sun-rise, twice after sun-set, toward Jerusalem, saying each time these three verses, God is sublime above all, God is high above all, God is the greatest of all. On the second and sixth festival, let no man do any work: let them fast two days every year: let them abstain from the Mohammedan ablution: let them not drink strong drink; but of wine as much as they please. Let them not eat the flesh of wild beasts." Having delivered these ridiculous doctrines, he went to Palestine, where he infected the simple

and rustic people with the same teaching: then departing, he hid himself; nor is his place known to this day.”—*Assemani Bib. Orient. Vol. II. pp. 319, 320.*

Assemani then proceeds to give various reasons, why the persons formerly called *Assassini* are the same with these *Nazaraei*, or *Ansari*. He says that they were originally Mahomedans, and afterward became semi-christians. He adds, also, that the Druses bitterly persecute them, as a people loose in morals and hostile to their sect.

The account given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the word *Assassins*, partly accords with the above; referring the origin of that sect to a Sheik vulgarly called, in Europe, *the Old Man of the Mountain*. The following accounts from the Jesuit missionaries, from Niebuhr, and from Burckhardt, may probably be considered as throwing a little additional light upon the obscure and melancholy picture before us.

The Jesuit missionaries observe—

“At the present day we are not acquainted here with any people bearing the name of Assassins; yet it is possible that the Kesbins, a nation which inhabits the mountains two days’ distant from Tripoli, and the Nassariens, another nation which is established in the plain toward the sea, may be the successors of the Assassins. These two nations inhabit the same country, and, what is more, there is much resemblance between the religion which the Assassins profess and that professed in the present day by the Kesbins and the Nassariens.

“These two nations, the Kesbins and the Nassariens, ought to be regarded as making one and the same nation.

“They have different names, from the different countries which they inhabit. Those among them who inhabit the mountains are called Kesbins, because their country is called Kesbie: the others, who occupy the plains, are called Nassariens, that is to say, bad christians;* a character which belongs to both of them, for they have made for themselves a religion which is a monstrous compound of Mohammedanism and Christianity, and which gives them an extravagant idea of our holy mysteries.

“The doctors of their sect are called Sheiks. These doctors amuse them with their foolish imaginations: for example—they teach them that God has been incarnate sev-

* This etymology, which seems so plausible, receives no countenance from Assemani, who, if it had been correct, was too good an Oriental scholar not to have discovered it.

eral times—that he has been incarnate, not only in Jesus Christ, but also in Abraham, Moses, and other persons celebrated in the Old Testament. They even attribute the same honor to Mahomet; an absurdity into which even the Turks have never fallen.

“This is not all. They imagine that they honor Jesus Christ, by maintaining that he did not die on the cross, as the christians profess, but they add that he substituted another man who died in his place. They likewise say that Mahomet ordained that another body, in lieu of his own, should be put into the tomb which had been prepared for him.

“They further admit the metempsychosis: and say that the same soul passes from one body into another, as many as seventy times; but with this difference, that the soul of a good man enters into a body more perfect than his own, and the soul of a vicious man passes into the body of an unclean animal.

“They have borrowed from christianity the communion: but the mode in which they practise it is perfectly fanatical; for they celebrate it with wine and a morsel of meat. They admit only men to this communion, excluding women and children. It is in their secret assemblies, that the men observe this practice among themselves.

“They celebrate some of our festivals: for example—those of Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter, and some of our ‘Apostles’ and Saints’ days.

“When they are at their prayers, they turn themselves toward the sun; which has led some to say that they adore the sun: but, on this point, they are not agreed.

“I omit various other of their customs, as being only so many extravagancies. They are, however, strongly attached to them; persuaded as they are, that their religion is not less good than that of the Maronites, because they have some practices in common with them.

“Several of our missionaries have used their utmost efforts to gain some of them; but as they only obstinately hear their own wicked Doctors, and will follow no other opinions than those in which they were brought up, our missionaries, despairing of their conversion, have been obliged often to shake off the dust of their feet against them.”—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses: Vol. I. pp. 361—364.*

Niebuhr has given, with a minuteness, which it would scarcely be compatible with the nature of this work to copy, a view of the mystical doctrines of the Ansari. The fol-

lowing short concluding paragraph is quoted, as exhibiting a striking and painful illustration of the words of the Apostle—*Their foolish heart was darkened*: Rom. i. 21.

"The soul of a devotee among the Ansari can enter Paradise, after it has passed through a small number of bodies; but the soul of another must have passed through eighty. The souls of infidels must pass through five frightful degrees—Fesgh, Nesgh, Mesgh, Wegsch, and Resgh; and, after that, must remain in the world as sheep, till the return of Sochra, that is, Fatima. Who could believe that the founders of such religions could possibly find followers?"—*Niebuhr: Vol. II. pp. 360, 361.*

Burckhardt, in 1812, on his journey from Aleppo, to Damascus, rested a night at Shennyn, a village of the Ansari, a little North of Tripoli. He thus speaks of them—

"As our hosts appeared to be good natured people, I entered, after supper, into conversation with them, with a view to obtain some information upon their religious tenets; but they were extremely reserved on this head. I had heard that the Anzeyrys maintained, from time to time, some communication with the East Indies; and that there was a temple there belonging to their sect, to which they occasionally sent messengers. In the course of our conversation, I said that I knew there were some Anzeyrys in the East Indies: they were greatly amazed at this, and inquired how I had obtained my information; and their countenances seemed to indicate that there was some truth in my assertion. They are divided into different sects, of which nothing is known except the names, viz. Kelbye, Shamsye, and Mokladje. They entertain the curious belief, that the soul ought to quit the dying person's body by the mouth; and they are extremely cautious against any accident, which they imagine may prevent it from taking that road: for this reason, whenever the government of Ladakie or Tripoli condemns an Anzeyry to death, his relations offer considerable sums, that he may be empaled instead of hanged. I can vouch for the truth of this belief, which proves at least that they have some idea of a future state. It appears that there are Anzeyrys in Anatolia and at Constantinople. Some years since a great man of this sect died in the mountain of Antioch; and the water, with which his corpse had been washed was carefully put into bottles and sent to Constantinople and Asia Minor."—*Burckhardt's Travels in Syria: p. 156.*

ISMAYLY.

THE situation and character of another sect in Syria, named Ishmærites, or Ismayly, will be learnt from the following extracts.

“Maszyad (situate between Aleppo and Tripoli, but nearer to Tripoli) is remarkable from being the chief seat of the religious sect called Ismayly. Inquiries have often been made concerning the religious doctrines of this sect, as well as of those of the Anzeyrys and Druses. Not only European travellers and Europeans resident in Syria, but many natives of influence, have endeavored to penetrate the mysteries of these idolaters, without success; and several causes combine to make it probable that their doctrines will long remain unknown. The principal reason is, that few individuals among them become acquainted with the most important and secret tenets of their faith; the generality contenting themselves with the observance of some exterior practices, while the arcana are possessed by the select few. It will be asked, perhaps, whether their religious books would not unveil the mystery. It is true that all the different sects possess books, which they regard as sacred; but they are intelligible only to the initiated. Another difficulty arises from the extreme caution of the Ismaylys upon this subject. Whenever they are obliged to visit any part of the country under the Turkish government, they assume the character of Mussulmans; being well aware, that if they should be detected in the practice of any rite contrary to the Turkish religion, their hypocrisy, in affecting to follow the latter, would no longer be tolerated: and their being once clearly known to be Pagans, which they are only suspected to be at present, would expose them to the heaviest exactions, and might even be followed by their total expulsion or extirpation. Christians and Jews are tolerated, because Mohammed and his immediate successors granted them protection, and because the Turks acknowledged Christ and the prophets; but there is no instance whatever of Pagans being tolerated.”—*Burckhardt's Travels in Syria*: pp. 151, 152.

Niebuhr, so copious in his accounts of other sects, is, upon this, extremely concise. He observes—

“Concerning the religion of the Ishmærites, I have learnt *nothing certain*. The Mohammedans and the Oriental Chris-

tians relate of them things incredible. The number of the Ishmælitæ is not great. They live principally at Killis, a town between Shugr and Hama; also in Gebel Kalbie, a mountain not far from Latachia between Aleppo and Antioch. They are called Kestun, from the name of a village in this country."

Speaking of the Metawali, Ansari, and Ishmælitæ, Niebuhr adds—

"These nations, taken on the whole, are in general so weak that they can scarcely resist the Turkish Pachas. The Druses, on the contrary, are masters of the chief part of Mount Lebanon, and consequently more powerful."—*Niebuhr: Vol. II. pp. 361, 362.*

The notice taken of this sect, by the Jesuit missionaries is also exceedingly brief: they write—

"The Ishmælitæ inhabit a small territory named Cadmus. Their life is so brutal and shameful, that they are not fit to be spoken of; except it be to humiliate man, by making him feel, that there is no depth of degradation, disorder, and extravagance, to which he may not sink, when he takes his passions for his guide."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses: Vol. I. p. 365.*

YESIDIENS.

THE Yesidiens may not improperly be quoted, as forming a part of the population of Syria. They are by some considered to have had their origin in Persia; but they are met with in the countries which lie between Persia and the north of Syria,* and even in Syria itself, as may be inferred from the fact of a Jesuit missionary's seeking them out, in his visits to Aleppo and Scanderoon. An account of them is found in Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History: Vol. IV. pp. 252, 253, and note: Century 16. Sect. 3. Part 1. The following brief extracts are from Niebuhr, in his travels near Mosul; and from the Jesuit missions in Syria.

Speaking of a village entirely inhabited by Yesidiens, Niebuhr thus describes them:—

"They are called Yesidiens, and also Dauasin: but as the Turks do not allow the free exercise of any religion in their country, except to those who possess sacred books, as the

* Tournefort says of them that they are a wandering race, and "stretch every year quite from Mosul or New Nineveh, to the sources of the Euphrates." (*English Translation of Tournefort's Voyage into the Levant: Vol. II. Letter 6th.*)

Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews, the Yesidiens are obliged to keep the principles of their religion extremely secret. They, therefore, pass themselves off for Mohammedians, Christians, or Jews; following the party of whatever person makes inquiry into their religion. They speak with veneration of the Koran, of the Gospel, of the Pentateuch, and the Psalms; and, when convicted of being Yesidiens, they will then maintain that they are of the same religion as the Sonnites. Hence it is almost an impossibility to learn anything certain on the subject. Some charge them with adoring the devil, under the name of "Tscillebi," that is to say, Lord. Others say that they exhibit a marked veneration for the sun and for fire, that they are downright pagans, and that they have horrible ceremonies. I have been assured that the Dauasin do not invoke the devil; but that they adore God only, as the creator and benefactor of all men. They cannot, however, bear to speak of satan, nor even to hear his name mentioned. When the Yesidiens come to Mosul, they are not apprehended by the magistrate, although known: but the people often endeavor to trick them; for when these poor Yesidiens come to sell their eggs or butter, the purchasers contrive first to get their articles in their possession, and then begin uttering a thousand foolish expressions against satan, with a view to lower the price; upon which the Yesidiens are content to leave their goods, at a loss, rather than be witness of such contemptuous language about the devil. The Yesidiens practice circumcision like the Mohammedans."—*Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie: Vol. II. pp. 279, 280.*

The Jesuit Missionaries observe—

"The conversion of the Jasidies was a new object for the zeal of father Besson. The Jasidies are a people who adore the sun, and who offer worship to the devil as the author of evil.

"Father Besson formed the resolution of conveying to them the knowledge of the true God; but, having been charged with the government of our missions, and being no longer able himself to execute this design, he sent some missionaries to them. The hour for the conversion of this unhappy people was not yet come. It was not long before this was perceived by the missionaries, whom father Besson sent to them. They returned, after having shaken off the dust from their feet. We wait the moment, when God *shall* be pleased, in his mercy, to dissipate the darkness

which hinders these blind men from seeing the horrors of their mystery of iniquity."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*: Vol. I. p. 135.

This sect is further alluded to, and little more than alluded to, in the third volume of these *Lettres*. p. 462.

It may, in some measure, require an apology, to have exhibited to English readers such a tissue of various customs and notions, many of them almost unmeaning, others utterly absurd, and not a few of them impious.

The principal motive, which the author had in making this brief introductory compilation, may be, perhaps, its best excuse. It was his wish hereby to facilitate the inquiries, or rather to disembarass the course, of other missionaries, who may in future times visit this country.

Many missionaries will have had neither leisure nor opportunity, previously to their arrival in Syria, for inquiring what are the notions or usages of the various sects existing there. On arriving, they will soon hear a degree of importance, greater or less, attached to all this floating capital of human imaginations. Without some preparation from books, they may enter on investigations of what has long been known; with a prospect, probably, of advancing no further than others have advanced before them: and this in the pursuit of an object, concerning which, if they had possessed the information already existing, they would have learned to regard additional inquiries as of very little worth.

These remarks may be exemplified in the instance of the Druses, of whom a fuller account has been collected in the preceding pages than of any other body of men. The situation of this people is one of the first objects which strike the eye and the ear of travellers in Syria: their power, their numbers, the secrecy of their sect, the peculiarity of their customs, and a few characteristic rumors in circulation concerning them—all conspire to stimulate curiosity. Yet probably no information is to be had of their real state, much beyond what has long existed in print: or if there be further stores, similar to those already half-revealed, it may possibly be better that they should remain unknown. Should the unhealthy appetite still crave for further acquaintance with man's many inventions in these far-famed recesses of Mount Lebanon, it may, moreover, be doubted whether this singular race would ever admit a foreigner to the mysteries of the order; or, finally, were this practicable, what mi-

sionary would be justified in purchasing such knowledge at the expense of Druse-fraternization?

The wisest of men was taught by his own experience, that *in much wisdom is much grief*: and the great apostle under the gospel dispensation desired to have his converts *simple concerning evil*: determining, for his part, to *know nothing among them but Jesus Christ and him crucified!* It might seem, therefore, that, after having investigated much the sentiments of erring men, it were a wise resolution to relinquish such studies—never to revert to them but from a motive of necessity—and gladly to seize the opportune moment for abandoning them.

To be wholly ignorant of the opinions of men in Syria may be the happy lot of private christians in our own country: but it is otherwise with the duty of a missionary. His is the painful task to read, not only his own evil heart, but the volume likewise of other men's experience; that he may know whom he has to encounter, what he has to refute, and where it is wisest to be silent and to stop. Happy for him, also, when he finds that period.

For these reasons, while the private reader may pardon, the missionary student may probably be grateful to the writer for this introductory view. And may all, who shall have scanned these wearying pages, be excited to a livelier sense of pity for the benighted and deluded wanderers, whose characters and sentiments have been thus variously depicted! How should our hearts glow at the thought of *the bringing-in of a better hope!* That hope the christian finds in his bible: to this unerring volume he turns his exhausted, aching eyes, and is revived! Most truly can the author testify, that, after revolving for hours the ponderous tomes of the acts of the councils, the researches of Asse-mann, and many other voluminous works, on suddenly casting a glance upon that one book, never to be removed from his table, often has he experienced such a lively transition of feeling, as cannot be better described than by the well-known simile of our sacred poet—

————— As when a scout,

Through dark and desert ways with peril gone
All night, at last, by break of cheerful dawn,
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill;
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land
First seen, or some renown'd metropolis
With glist'ring spires and pinnacles adorn'd,
Which now the rising sun gilds with his beam!—*Paradise Lost: Book III.*

JOURNAL
OF A
VISIT TO SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND,
IN THE YEAR 1823.

Tuesday, Sept. 9, 1823.—We set sail from Alexandria to Beirout.

Saturday Evening, Sept. 13—Standing off the coast of Saide and Beirout, we had a brilliant view of the illuminations which take place on the mountains on the eve of the festival of the holy Cross. From north to south, there was a kind of semi-amphitheatrical exhibition of lights; which increased in brilliancy, as the darkness of evening came on. Some of them rose to a very considerable height above the horizon, marking the great elevation of the mountains. I counted fifty. These large fires were lighted by the monasteries and churches; and, throughout the whole of Mount Lebanon, from Tripoli to Sour, and in various other parts, this ceremony would take place. Considering that our view was partial, we may calculate, that not fewer perhaps than 500 such fires were lighted: the statement of numbers, however, whether calculated, or reported by those who ought to know, is not implicitly to be depended upon. In subsequent remarks on the number of monasteries, or of different sects and denominations, or of the population of towns, I would prepare every person not to expect, what it is next to impossible to attain, perfect accuracy.

BEIROUT.

Monday, Sept. 15—I landed at Beirout; and was kindly received by the English consul, Peter Abbot, Esq. He informs

me, that Mr. Lewis is occupying the college at Antoura, purchased by Mr. Way for the Jews' Society; and that Mr. Fisk and Mr. Wolff are with him, and Mr. King at Deir el Kamr. I was greatly surprised to hear of the departure of Mr. Way from this country, and concerned to learn that illness had been the cause. To Antoura I immediately sent an express courier, with many letters from the West.

Tuesday, Sept. 16, 1823—Mr. Fisk and Mr. Lewis came over to Beirout, to welcome me to Syria. This is the first time, that, on landing in a foreign station, I have found missionary brethren on the spot: and the benefit of it I felt inexpressibly; as, in the compass of a few words, a rapid view is taken of the bearings of every thing in the country; and the heart, animated by the sight of fellow laborers and fellow-sufferers, takes courage. We wrote also to Mr. King at Deir el Kamr, to join us at Antoura. On Wednesday and Thursday we conversed on many plans, and united in prayer for a blessing on our future course.

ANTOURA.

Friday, Sept. 19—Left Beirout for Antoura. Not being able to bear much exertion in the heat, I was four hours and three-quarters on the journey: it may easily be done in less. The scenery through the valley of Nahr el Kelb was very fine; reminding me sometimes of Derbyshire scenery—though not of the softer parts, as Dove-Dale—but with one additional feature, which no part of Derbyshire enjoys, a noble prospect of the sea.

I found Mr. Wolff extremely unwell. He seems to be so absorbed in his pursuits, and to carry the labors of body and mind to such a full stretch, that it would be a miracle if he were well. Mr. Fisk says, that, ever since crossing the desert, his health has been visibly declining. I have given him some very seasonable medicine, and put him on a new diet. He has as little idea of taking care of himself, as if he had no body. His researches in Jerusalem appear to have been very interesting, and his labors there very useful.

Saturday, Sept. 20—We had much conversation about this College of Antoura. The only topic which I will here notice, is, that, as Celibate Colleges are on no account what-

ever to be contemplated, it is of great moment that missionaries should be happy in the choice of their partners. The wife of a missionary residing here, should be of a cheerful temper: she should know how to put up with vexatious circumstances, without being fretted: she should be able quickly to throw aside her various troubles. especially, she ought practically to understand the duties of a good mistress toward servants; for she will have to TRAIN servants—she will not FIND them: she must be a thoroughly good, and good-tempered, manager. And her husband had need to be very kind to her; for she will give up a great deal for him and his mission. The monastic life must never more be encouraged. If any of our Protestant missionaries remain single, let it be for facility of travelling; but not to people monasteries. This part of the world needs—as indeed what part does not?—the benefit of well-regulated female society; not for the sake of giving an elegant polish, but to inspire feeling and gentleness.

The Bishop, Mar Hanna Maroni, called, and sat with us two hours. He superintends the nunneries adjacent: in this he is acting for Monseigneur Gandolfi, who is absent at his summer house. Mar Hanna Maroni is the Maronite Patriarch's Vicar; and is an aged and clever man, but disappointed at not having been elected Patriarch some months ago, when the present Patriarch, a rather young man, was raised in preference to him. He says there are in Mount Lebanon upward of eighty convents; of which about ten are Greek-Catholic, three Armenian-Catholic, and one Syrian-Catholic,—the rest all Maronite. Of Greeks, called by them Schismatic, but styled, by themselves, the orthodox, there are no convents in the mountains. He, himself, studied at Rome; and was there when Pope Ganganelli abolished the Order of the Jesuits in 1773. At that time there was a Maronite house at Rome; which, in the French revolution, was sold and secularised. A new one has not been established. It was, indeed, arranged, that, with regard to the alienated property of the Propaganda, the former and the present possessors should equally divide and suffer the detriment: but possession has, in this instance, proved to be nine-points of the law; and the losers enjoy, up to this hour, nothing more than repeated promises of restitution. The various Maronites who go to Rome act as teachers or interpreters, and thus procure a little interest for themselves: there are four or five there now.

The churches and convents in Mount Lebanon have bells—a most pleasing distinction in the heart of Turkey: they remind one of College life; sounding for dinner, matins, and vespers.

At present, the Maronites are suffering extreme “*avarias*,” or extortions, from their ruler, the Emir Bechir. It is a peculiar privilege enjoyed by Europeans, that their houses can give protection to the natives. A very few days ago, a young Sheik took asylum in this College: the missionaries were a little perplexed by this new kind of visit: though, for the sake of humanity, there are cases in which every feeling man would be glad to possess and exercise this privilege; yet bordering, as it seems to do, on interference with the civil authorities of the place, or with the political state of the country, it might evidently be sometimes an embarrassing circumstance to a christian missionary.

Beirout is under the Pacha of Acre. In the city and near it, are a few Turks; but none in the mountains: which are under the direct rule of the Emir Bechir, commonly called Prince of the Druses; although he is, himself, not of that body, but by profession a christian. He holds his office under the Pacha of Acre.

We, this afternoon, began a custom, which we continued nearly every day during our residence together at this place—that of engaging in conference on some religious subject, of a nature bearing practically on our missionary work. A subject was proposed by each in rotation, and a day beforehand; so that time for reflection upon it might be secured. Our conversation was preceded by prayer; after which each in turn gave his opinion, the rest noting down in a book what was said. These parties usually lasted two hours.*

* As the College of Antoura has recently acquired a new interest from its connexion with the London Jews' Society, it may be agreeable to the reader to be made acquainted with the circumstances, which led, about a hundred years ago, to its first establishment. They are thus related by the Superior of the Jesuit missionaries in the first Volume of the “*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*.” This account is connected with the history of M. Lambert, one of the five principal merchants, directors of the French congregation established at Saide, which will be noticed hereafter. This person, having learnt from the missionaries the necessity and advantages of a mission to Ispahan, the capital of Persia, conceived the design of devoting himself to this service: having put his affairs in order, and drawn up his last Will and Testament he quitted Saide with the intention of joining the missionary Fathers in Persia. After many vicissitudes, he landed in India, near to Meliapor. Here he visited the tomb of St. Thomas, and took counsel with a Religious of the Order of St. Augustine; who, having fully considered what might be the nature of his vocation, advised him to go straight to Rome, and there apply to the Superior General of the Jesuits. He did this, and was accepted. After two years of Novitiate, he was ordained Priest, and appointed to Palestine. The narration then proceeds as follows:—

Sunday, Sept. 21, 1823—In the morning I preached to our small family in English, from 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2. *Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not: but have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty; not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but, by manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.* In the evening, Mr. Fisk preached in Italian, from Isaiah viii. 20. *To the law, and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* The household here consists (besides ourselves) of a converted Jew, Reuben Coster, whom Mr. Way brought with him from Nice; and a young Jew of Jerusalem, Abraham by name, who, though not a convert, joins in our services: there are also two servants, Maronites.

I was much interested, walking in the evening on the terrace to meditate on the 104th Psalm, with many of the expressions in verses 16—18 and 24—26, as verified to my sight; especially in turning to the noble view of the Western Sea—the very same great deep which David contemplated when celebrating the praises of Jehovah.

A Priest and a Sheik from Ain el Warka called in the

"He quitted Rome with two young Jesuits, who earnestly desired to accompany him. They all three embarked in a vessel destined for Saïde or Tripoli; but Providence, which had thus far conducted Father Lambert, and designed to use him for the establishment of a mission to the Maronites, suffered a violent tempest to cast his vessel on the coasts adjacent to a little village called Antoura. The inhabitants, seeing a vessel approach their coast, to take it for a Corsair; and, without particularly examining what it was, ran and seized Father Lambert, his two companions, and some other passengers, and conducted them before the Commandant of the country.

"This Commandant was Abunaufel, a Maronite, the most respectable of his nation. The fame of his probity was so great, that Louis XIV. of happy memory, chose him, although a subject of the Grand Seigneur, to be Consul of the French Nation, and sent him his Brevet to that effect.

"It was before this person that Father Lambert and his two companions appeared. Abunaufel interrogated them. In their answers they declared what they were, shewing him the patents of the Reverend Father General.

"Abunaufel readily perceived that these supposed Corsairs were missionaries sent him by Providence. He gave them the best reception possible, and lodged them in his house. Their arrival, and the intercourse which he had with them, suggested to him the idea of establishing a mission in his country, in order to give the Maronites of Mount Lebanon that spiritual assistance of which they are so often deprived. He made the proposition to Father Lambert, and offered him a settlement in his own domain; situated in a part of Mount Lebanon called Kesroan.

"Father Lambert, after having consulted the Superiors of our Syrian missions and received favorable answers, accepted, on their part, the offer of Abunaufel. This person kept his word with the missionaries; appointing them a lot of ground sufficient to build a small house with a chapel: he even bore a share of the necessary expenses. Father Lambert was the man chosen by God to be the founder of the mission of Antoura. He opened it with an extraordinary concourse of people, who assisted at the first exercises of the mission. Aided by his two companions, he continued his exertions till death, with indefatigable zeal."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses: Vol. L. pp. 220—229.*

* The name of this district is sometimes spelt, Kastavan. It lies between Beirut and Tripoli.

morning. Sunday is a visiting day, here also! May our example benefit them!

Monday, Sept. 22, 1823—Mr. Fisk and myself called on Mar Hanna Maroni. He relates that there is trouble in the mountains; and states the following facts as the cause of it. As several of the Sheiks have fled from their homes, for asylum in Frank houses, the Emir has sent a party of fifty soldiers, who passed by this place only yesterday, to set fire to the houses of those absconded Sheiks, and cut down their fruit trees; so as to force them out of their hiding-places. He thinks there will be a re-action—a slight rebellion.

It is but a very few months since this Prince fled from Mount Lebanon to Egypt, in order to escape from the vengeance of three assembled Pachas, who besieged the Pacha of Acre. He has now returned in safety; and, besides replacing various pecuniary losses at the expense of the chieftains among the mountains, he is also singling out those who did not stand true to his cause during his temporary flight.

The bishop received us in the "Parlatorio" of the nunnery. Several nuns came to the grated window. There are twenty-three of them who have taken the vow. One, of eighty years of age—two or three, of twenty or twenty-five. They were all very talkative, and very inquisitive; evidently curious to know something of that world, from which they are now for ever secluded. The bishop, who speaks Italian fluently, inveighed bitterly against all Monachism; and said, if he were the Pope, he would immediately abolish every brotherhood and sisterhood of them. The freedom of the sisters was not inferior to his. On my mentioning that I was married, they inquired very particularly about my wife and children, and wished me to bring my wife to visit them. On this the abbess, a lively woman of about thirty-five years of age, asked my companion, whether he were married: on his answering in the negative, she vehemently demanded, "Why not?"—and did not spare reproofs. The bishop, though himself unmarried, added in Arabic—"Sijra bla tamr"—"A tree without fruit!"

I cannot say that I was led to form a favorable opinion of monasticism, or of nunneries. Mr. Fiske and myself conversing fully on this subject afterward, agreed that those nunneries, which are under the closest seclusion and confinement, are, in some instances, liable to become the most cor-

rupt. In Jerusalem, the nuns have the liberty of visiting their friends. These, being in some measure under the public eye, are probably more correct.

I inquired from the bishop, in reference to the acknowledging of the council of Trent, which was solemnly done by a national council of the Maronite clergy in the year 1736, whether the acts of that council were printed in Arabic. No—he replied: but they have a manuscript copy in Arabic. It is difficult to me to conceive how these clergy of the mountains should have thoroughly weighed all the matter contained in the acts of that council; but not difficult to understand how they should have been disciplined into adopting it. Implicit faith believes, and implicit obedience submits to, ANY THING.

Tuesday, Sept. 23—Mr. King refreshed us by his arrival. We are now five Missionaries—all, in some degree, with different objects or under different characters; but all uniting in christian love, counsel, and labor, on Mount Lebanon—Mr. Fisk, a missionary from America to Palestine—Mr. King, whose original plan was to study Arabic, in order to return, after three years, as Arabic professor to one of the colleges of America, is here adding missionary exertions to his studies—Mr. Wolff, a converted Jew, laboring for the Jews, under the patronage of wealthy and noble-minded individuals—Mr. Lewis, a clergyman of our united church, for the same cause under the Jews' Society—and myself serving the Church Missionary Society.

The village, if such it may be called, of Antoura, consists of about twenty small and scattered houses; of which, three are ecclesiastical—namely, the residence of Monseigneur Gandolfi, Vicar Apostolic of the Pope, now absent from home; the nunnery; and the college, in which we are living, and which was endowed about ninety years ago. Several monasteries are within sight, or within a moderate distance. This, in fact, may be considered, generally, to be the character of the mountains. Their population consists almost entirely of monks and peasants. Of the peasants, a great number carry arms. In fact, every young man may, in some sense, be called a soldier; and would, in case of need, muster as such: the gun, which serves him for field-sport and sustenance, is ready for the call of war; and his discipline consists in the bracing, hardy habits of a mountaineer. It would be difficult for European troops to find their way

through Mount Lebanon, if the natives chose to embarrass them.

The country is here as remarkable for the innumerable multitude of its mulberry trees, as Egypt is for its palm trees. During the chief part of the year, these mulberry trees clothe the prospect, in every direction, with a most delightful verdure. As they are not cultivated for fruit, but for their leaves, from which a great quantity of silk-worms are reared, they are polled generally when the stem is about six feet high; and the small branches, or rather twigs, then burst out in most luxuriant foliage. An immense quantity of silk is thus raised in Syria. The trees are planted in regular lines. In the winter months, they pass a light plough over the soil between them, so that it may drink in the rain more plentifully. I do not remember to have seen mulberry trees reared in Egypt; though I know of no reason why they should not flourish, in some parts of that country. In Psalm lxxviii. 48, in the Prayer-book translation, it is said, that God *destroyed their mulberry trees with the frost*. This would be a dreadful calamity to a country in the circumstances in which Lebanon now is, as it would ruin the valuable trade of silk. The true sense, however, of that verse is given in the version of the bible, where the word is rendered *sycamore trees*. This tree has a leaf somewhat like the leaf of the mulberry tree; and its fruit is a wild-fig. The wood of it is peculiarly durable.

CONVENT OF AIN EL WARKA.

Friday, Sept. 26—I called on the bishop Hanna Maroni, who very readily gave me letters for Ain el Warka; a college about four hours to the north, in which the Maronites are taught Syriac, and prepared for the priesthood. He also gave me a letter for Hanna Stambooli, a priest, who seems to be doing penance at Ain el Warka, and is compelled to perform the office of preceptor there. In the afternoon, I set off, with Mr. Wolff, to perform this visit. We arrived just at sun-set. I cannot say that we were received with much hospitality: there was, in fact, an air of reserve and coldness, which was to be attributed to various little circumstances, needless to relate here. The superior, however, ordered us a supper, and made various apologies for its not being better prepared: a cheerful welcome would have made a much humbler supper a grateful entertainment.

Hanna Stambooli, as his name is designed to indicate, has studied at Constantinople; which gives him a character of great superiority to the Maronite mountaineers. He very eagerly asked, if I would take him to England; and seemed chagrined that some such plan could not be devised for him. Something, however, better than talent united with the love of travelling is requisite to induce us to take up and patronise the men of the east. Here are twenty-two pupils: only one or two, however, came near us. Of these, one was Luigi Assemani, great nephew of the celebrated author of the "Bibliotheca Orientalis;" the same who was the pope's legate in the national council of the Maronites in 1736. This is a tender and rather an interesting youth, of eighteen years of age: he left Rome at the age of eleven; and hopes to return thither, as Oriental interpreter, in the course of a few years. I gave him an Arabic testament, writing for him a direction in it, by which he might find me in Malta; accompanied by some good advice.

CONVENT OF HAREESA.

Saturday, Sept. 27, 1823—Very early in the morning we departed. The Superior being at church, we could not personally take leave of him; and, of the young students, it was plain we should see nothing. In our way to Antoura we called at the convent of Hareesa, or Arissa; and here spent the middle of the day. Padre Carlo, the Superior, was absent: He is a Franciscan friar, and was long in Egypt. He acted as Dragoman to general Desaix, who commanded the expedition in 1798. What scenes for a missionary to have passed through! not indeed necessarily involving guilty participation; but bringing him continually within the sphere of temptation—making deeds of violence, and lust, and rapine, and treachery familiar to his eye; and entirely distracting him from the peaceful, retiring, and laborious life of a missionary. This Padre has been the usual round of Jerusalem, Nazareth, &c. He has the whole of this beautiful, spacious, and airy convent to himself. It is impossible to survey what this convent once must have been, and what it now is, without feeling as if Rome were evidently on the decline. See her outworks—her foreign, boasted missions—reduced to a mere shade! However, the house at present, serves as an asylum for some of the Emir's subjects, who, during his flight to Egypt, five months

ago, were alienating from him, and are now required to pay heavy sums. Some of these were now actually living with their whole establishment in the convent; and, in the absence of the Latin Superior, gave orders for our entertainment. Dinner was very heartily and hospitably prepared, in a manner quite contrasted with that at Ain el Warka.

RETURN TO ANTOURA.

We returned by sunset to Antoura; and in the evening, being the last evening of the week, we united, according to the custom of the Church Missionary Society, in prayer for the success of christian missions throughout the world.

Sunday, Sept. 28, 1823—Mr. King, in the morning, preached in English from Luke ix, 58. *Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head*—words so peculiarly descriptive of the daily humiliation of our Redeemer. "We all of us," Mr. King observed, "think too much of our comforts." He drew, in a very touching manner, the contrast of our Savior's laborious ministry. In the evening, I preached in Italian, from 1 Cor. ii. 9—16.

RETURN TO BEIROUT.

Monday, Sept. 29—I left Antoura for Beirout.

Tuesday, Sept. 30—Mr. Lewis and myself dined with our consul, Mr. Abbot. He gave several instances of the extreme difficulty of coming at the truth in this country—a topic peculiarly necessary to be upon the mind of a missionary.

DEIR EL KAMR.

Wednesday, Oct. 1—Went, with Mr. Lewis, to Deir el Kamr; which may be called the capital of Mount Lebanon, as being the residence of the Emir Bechir, prince of the mountains. We went in fact expressly to pay our respects to him. The journey took us nine very hot and tedious hours. Half way, at Ainep, we halted for some time, to rest and refresh ourselves. We were here about half way up one of the highest parts of Mount Lebanon; and higher steep

yet remained for us to ascend in the course of the afternoon. Although the season is not yet for the *snow of Lebanon*, (Jer. xviii. 14.) yet we found the *cold flowing waters, coming from the rock of the field*, exquisitely exhilarating. We arrived at the picturesque valley of Deir el Kamr just by sunset. The town, inhabited by about two thousand souls, is on the left hand mountain. At a distance, on the mountain of the other side, stands the palace of Ebtedin, presenting a very bold and martial front. We had a letter to a respectable man in the town, of the name of Yoosef Doomani, with whom Mr. King had lodged some weeks: his third son, Hanna, was Mr. King's preceptor in Arabic. All gave us an enthusiastic welcome. Before supper, the master of the house directed the servant to bring in a large brass pan, full of warm water, in which for the first, and indeed the only time, that I ever experienced such attention, he illustrated the ancient custom of washing the feet of strangers; and no compliment could have been more seasonable.

EBTEDIN.

Thursday, Oct. 2—I went, with Mr. Lewis, to the palace of Ebtedin, an hour's distance from Deir el Kamr. While waiting in one of the numerous rooms which surround the great court, the Secretary came in, heard our business, and received our letters; which were, in fact, only to request passports. This is a ceremony, which it was very desirable that we should perform; for, although an Englishman universally in this country commands respect, yet the Authorities may reasonably expect the compliment of a visit to request their protection. The document, afterward given me in the afternoon, is sufficiently laconic; and runs in the following terms:—

"This is to inform all who shall see it; and let them regard it universally:

"That whereas the bearer of this our order, Mr. Jowett, an Englishman, is desirous to travel from place to place within the confines of the Mountain, it is our will that no man should contradict him; and wheresoever he goes, he shall enjoy protection, security, and respect.

"We have signified this. (Signed) BECHIR."

(With the impression of his signet on the back of the paper.)

CONVERSATION ON THE DRUSES.

Previously to our waiting on the Emir, his physician, Seigneur Bertrand, who speaks French well, came into the room where we were. Conversation turned, among other points, on the Druses. He divides them into three classes. The first of these is the "Djahelin," a word which signifies the IGNORANT: these know nothing about religion, and are never initiated into the secrets of the Order: they are, indeed, assembled on the Thursday evening, in a place considered as a place of worship, from which, after an hour, they are required to withdraw; but, in every other respect, they are kept in perfect ignorance and subjection. The remainder Seigneur Bertrand divided into two classes—those who are partially admitted to the knowledge of their mysteries; and those who are perfectly initiated. The partially initiated may return, if they desire it, into the order of the "Djahelin," but must never reveal what they know. The third class, who are the perfect Adepts, must ever remain such: these continue together late on the Thursday night, performing their ceremonies, after all others have been excluded.

I inquired if they have the power of life and death: he replied, "No."—"But," I asked, "if any of them should reveal the secret?" He answered, "They would certainly kill him."—"Are any of them ever converted to christianity, Judaism, or Mohamedanism?" "No: it would be death. They live, it is true, intermingled with christians in the villages, but they never intermarry with them."

I alluded to their dress—He said, "In the precincts of the Court, they made no distinction, not to offend the Emir"—and pointed out a person in the room, whom from his dress we should not have known to be a Druse, but who, he said, was one of the highest Adepts. He appeared about thirty-five years of age.

It is said that they make no proselytes; it being one of their opinions, that there is a certain number of souls already initiated, and which never increases or diminishes. When a Druse dies, his soul is supposed to migrate either into some animal, or some other living person: and thus, by constant transmigration, they never cease to exist; and, in due cycle, to appear upon the earth.

It is said to be death to shew their Sacred Books to any uninitiated person: yet there are many manuscripts shewn about, purporting to be of this description, procured furtively; and, when they are lent or sold, it is done under promise of security. A set of these books was put in our way, some days ago, for purchase; and the enormous sum of five thousand dollars asked for them! I, for my part, felt sufficiently content with the account given of them, in De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe* and in Niebuhr's *Travels*. Were I to be as a missionary in the midst of them, I should probably make no attempt to penetrate into their mystery: so far as it might hinder the reception of the pure Gospel, I should consider it as so much of Satan's ground, and not go upon it; but should invite them off from it, to walk with me in a plainer path. I entertain no doubt but that God would bless this method, eventually, in His own time: and when converted, the Druses would, probably of their own accord, imitate that memorable act of the new converts at Ephesus—*bring their books together, and burn them before all men*—even though the price of them should be *more than fifty thousand pieces of silver*.*

INTERVIEW WITH THE EMIR BECHIR.

We were then introduced with the usual forms to the Emir, had chairs given us, and were treated with coffee and sherbet. The political difficulties of the Emir are well stated by Burckhardt, in his interesting volume on Syria. I noted his physiognomy, which is very strongly marked about the eye-brows, as though constant care and pain dwelt in that region. Once or twice his features relaxed into a smile; but his very smile was stern. Since his return, five months ago, from Egypt, he has been on a continual stretch, pursuing his enemies, and exacting extraordinary supplies. His age may be about sixty years. His inquiries were only about Spain and France, and the conversation was short.

* On the subject of the Druses, see the account of them, under the head of "Religious Denominations," in a former part of this Volume; and pp. 444—446 of "Christian Researches in the Mediterranean."

PALACE OF EBTEDIN.

After seeing the Emir, we were shewn over the palace. A beautiful long gun, taken from the French, was shewn among other curiosities.

We dined in an open court-yard, overlooking the valley to the sea. Wine was not brought, being prohibited; as the Emir wished to keep up somewhat of a Mussulman appearance, in compliment to Abdallah Pacha, under whom he holds the sovereignty of the mountains.

After dinner we visited the christian church; a small building, about a hundred yards from the precincts of the palace. The Emir does not attend it. In fact, he seems to be of no religion—thinking that, perhaps, to be the most convenient way of satisfying persons of all religions. He formerly, it is said, used to have a Romish confessor; but has ceased even from that ceremony. Some, indeed, say that his confessor would no longer grant him absolution.

The church is small. All the books were in Syriac. Here we saw nine young Greeks, chiefly Sciotes; whom the Emir lately brought from Cairo. They are learning to read Arabic; and the priest is their schoolmaster. We have already seen two of them in attendance upon the Emir.

There are said to be two thousand persons employed, in and about the palace. In fact, we saw many professions and trades going on in it—soldiers, horse-breakers, carpenters, black-smiths, scribes, cooks, tobacconists, &c. There was, in the air of this mingled assemblage, something which forcibly brought to my recollection the description of an Eastern Royal-Household, as given to the Israelites by Samuel, 1 Sam. viii. 11—17.

INTERVIEW WITH A YOUNG ABYSSINIAN.

While looking round these premises, my eye was caught by the figure of a dark-colored young man, sitting under a tree writing Arabic. His air and his countenance bespoke somewhat of superior feeling. On my approaching, he rose. We sat down together; and, in reply to my questions, he informed me that he was an Abyssinian. There is something in the very sound of that name, which awakens all my sympathies. I entered into conversation with him, in Italian; and briefly learnt his history, as follows:—He is now

eighteen years of age: he was eight years old, when he was taken in Abyssinia, and made a slave, and carried into Egypt. Here he served a Mohammedan master, who tried every art of bribery and of terror to induce him to become Mussulman; but in vain: he never would change his religion. His master dying, he entered into the service of another; when the opportunity offered of going to study at Milan, for the purpose of introducing learning into Egypt. This was about 1818. The Kiaya Bey, or Prime Minister of the Pacha, manifested, when he was presented, the greatest rage at his having remained a christian. In Italy he learned Italian, which he speaks easily; and he there also acquired a certain air of European courtesy, which Egypt could not have taught him; although, possibly, it may be innate; for the Abyssinians are generally celebrated for gentleness of manners. On his returning to Egypt, the Emir, during his visit there, obtained him, together with the other slaves whom he has brought hither. The name given him is Moose el Habeshi; but, knowing that the Abyssinians never give Jewish names, I asked if that was his real name.* He said, no, his proper name was Christinos. He has quite forgotten the Abyssinian language. While in Cairo, he became a Roman Catholic. There was a great rivalry between the two christian secretaries of the Pacha—Mallein Hanna Taouil, a Copt; and Nallein Ghali, a Roman Catholic. The Copt, by means of his countrymen, raised taxes and performed offices of the civil business so much cheaper than the other, that the Pacha thought him a fit man to send to the upper country: he therefore went with the expedition to Dongola. Mallein Ghali had given some affront to Ibrahim Pacha; who shot him; and, with his death, the Roman-Catholic interest suffered a great blow. When I asked Moose if he desired ever to return to his own country, he expressed his hopes, with tears, that he should. I related the business of the Amharic Version of the Sacred Scriptures, and encouraged him to expect happier days for his country. He mentioned that priests alone get safely from Abyssinia to Jerusalem, but it is not till they have been beaten, and robbed of all that can be got out of them, by the Mohammedans on the coast of the Red Sea. He says there are several Abyssinians, as he was, kept as slaves, in

* The christians of Syria, on the contrary, freely give Old-Testament names to their children.

private houses in Cairo. I invited him to visit me at Kamr Deir el Kamr: he said that the Emir would probably not permit him; but he is very kind to him. I promised to send him some Arabic Scriptures, for himself and the youths around him at school. "Do," he said: "you will be doing a great charity." I gave him my name on paper; that if ever he should visit Malta, he might find me. I described to him Abu Rumi and M. Asselin. He seemed to have some knowledge of Abu Rumi; and M. Asselin he had seen in the house of his Mohammedan master. He mentioned, what I never had heard before, that the Abyssinians, when they catch Mohammedans, some times *compel them* to become christians. The converse is too well known to be the case.

RETURN TO DEIR EL KAMR.

Friday, Oct. 3, 1823—This morning Mr. Lewis returned to Beirout; while I determined to spend some days with this family at Deir el Kamr, and to read Arabic with the third son, Hanna, who had been preceptor to Mr. King.

In the afternoon, he called his mother into the room, and begged me to explain the object of the missionaries in this country; which I did fully—dwelling especially on this, "that the Son of God had come to save man; and yet thousands as yet do not know Him." I find that the more simply this truth is told, the stronger the case appears to them—and the more strongly does it affect my own mind. This grand view throws all controversial matter to an infinite distance in the back-ground.

Sunday, Oct. 5.—There are three marriages in the town to-day. They are to be performed in the evening: but, throughout the day, there has been a continual firing of muskets in token of rejoicing; and, in the court-yard and on the roof of the house of one of the parties, I can see from my window a constant throng of guests, who occasionally set up a joyous cry: yet this is not a rich family. An almost ruinous hospitality is sometimes kept up on these occasions.

My host's fourth son, a youth of seventeen years of age, loiters into my room, wondering how I can bear to be alone; supposing my head must ache, or that I shall certainly fall asleep unless he comes to talk with me. I desired him to sit down, and read aloud the third chapter to the Romans; and then I explained to him its contents, as well as I was able, in his native tongue.

In the evening I attended one of the marriages. Three priests assisted in performing it. A multitude of men and boys set off with lights in their hands, an hour after sun-set, from the house of the bridegroom (leaving the bridegroom in his father's house) to that of the bride. After waiting nearly half-an-hour, the bride came out, attended by her female friends, and the procession began; the men going first, and after them the women with the bride in their front. On their coming near the church, they halted, while the bridegroom proceeded first into the church with his father and companions (in number certainly more than thirty; see Judges xiv. 10, 11.) to be ready to receive his bride. After this, the bride and her party entered by the door and apartment belonging to the women. Both then stood together in the middle of the church before a lighted desk, the bride being covered. An incessant noise and tumult, which no authority of the priests could appease, prevailed throughout the ceremony, which lasted near half-an-hour. The whole being ended, the friend of the bridegroom, standing behind him, lifted him up in his hands like a child; shouting, at the same time, for joy. This practical joke, however, as well as the tumult, was a mark that the parties were of the lower rank. The bridegroom was only fifteen years of age.

Monday, Oct. 6, 1823.—We observed this day in special reference to the custom of general prayer for the more abundant influences of the Holy Spirit.

In the afternoon, three Jewish females entered the house, to pay a visit to the mistress. They were strangers, but were politely treated with sherbet. I observed my preceptor, Hanna, watching them attentively: and, expressing my wish to call on the Jewish families here, he would have dissuaded me. "In this place," said he, "the Jews are looked upon very badly." "And in what part of the world," I asked, "are they not so? Now, as we expect all men to love one another, we must expect Christians and Jews to do so: but which is to make the first move? which has the strongest obligation to love the other?—which is commanded to do so?" He promptly and ingeniously answered, "Christians."

He informs me that there are about thirty Jewish families in Deir el Kamr.

Wednesday, Oct. 8.—This evening the season broke. Thunder and lightning and rain came from the west. The

romantic valley of Deir el Kamr, and the high ranges of Lebanon, were clothed with mantles of thick mist; and the whole prospect became dreary and cheerless.

In the morning of this day—not an hour too soon—the master of the house had laid in a stock of earth; which was carried up, and spread evenly on the roof of the house, which is flat. The whole roof is thus formed of mere earth, laid on and rolled hard and flat: not, as in Malta, of a composition,* which is smooth and impenetrable, and thus receives the rain-water and carries it off into the tanks under the house. There is no want of flowing water in this mountainous country, as there is in Malta. On the top of every house is a large stone roller, for the purpose of hardening and flattening this layer of rude soil, so that the rain may not penetrate: but, upon this surface, as may be supposed, grass and weeds grow freely. It is to such grass that the Psalmist alludes, as useless and bad—*Let them be as the grass upon the house-tops, which withereth afore it groweth up.* (Ps. cxxix. 6.) In reference to the conclusion of that Psalm, I may add, that nothing could better express the contemptuous neglect which David there describes as falling on the wicked—*Neither do they which go by say, The blessing of the Lord be upon you: we bless you in the name of the Lord.*

This is, indeed, the land of good wishes and overflowing compliments. Every passer-by has his “*Alla ybarakek*”—“God bless you!” Conversation is sometimes among strangers made up of a very large proportion of these phrases: for example—“Good morning.” Answer, “May your day be enriched!”—“By seeing you.” “You have enlightened the house by your presence.”—“Are you happy?” “Happy; and you also?”—“Happy.” “You are comfortable, I am comfortable;” meaning, “I am comfortable, if you are.” These sentences are often repeated; and, after any pause, it is usual to turn to your neighbor, and resume these courtesies many times. In Egypt, the Christian salutation is “*Salamat*,” among Mohammedans, everywhere, it is “*Salam*,” but this is not allowed among christians. In the southern half of Palestine, I subsequently found the ordinary salutation, between persons on the road, to be, “*Owafy*,” literally, “Good luck:” to which the person saluted, replies, “*Alla yafik*,” that is, “May God give you good luck!”

* In Beirut, and many other places, the flat roof consists of a hard cement, although not so good as that which is used in Malta.

They have a remarkable way in this country of paying honor to the first-born son. Both the parents take their name from his. Thus the master of the house here is called Abu Michael, Father-of-Michael, because his eldest son was baptized by the name of Michael. The servant has a son named Suleyman; and her name consequently has become Om-Suleyman, i. e. Mother-of-Suleyman. The practice is universal in this country.

Thursday, Oct. 8, 1823.—Stormy weather continues: we are quite confined to the house; which, as there are no glass-windows, is very uncomfortable. We are obliged to shut up the lattices with the wooden shutters, and sit almost in the dark. I asked the family how they manage in the long dreary weather of winter: they replied, that they entirely shut up the rooms, and use lamps in the day-time. This, three months afterward, I found to be the only method, living whole days by candle-light.

In the evening, the family meet to smoke—talk—hear some new thing, or some old thing—yawn—and retire to bed. From half past six o'clock at the present season (at which hour they, in five minutes, swallow their supper,) to half past eight, this is their habit. Several evenings they have read the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; and they seem marvellously amused with the gross fabrications contained in that book: the greater the falsehood, the greater seems their diversion. They are yet children. *In understanding be men*, would be a text lost on them. This evening I explained the method of calculating the distance of a thunder-cloud from the interval between the flash and the sound, a problem of the simplest nature, which I have known ever since I was a boy: though I happened to have a good interpreter, so that I am sure the whole was sufficiently explained; and though I expected that the tempest about our ears would render it the more interesting, yet it excited scarcely any attention, and probably was not understood, or possibly not believed.

Friday, Oct. 10.—I had to witness to-day one of those painful scenes of the undue influence of ecclesiastical rule, which they only can enter into, who have seen, in countries like our own, christian liberty blessed with its proper fruits. Conversing with my Arabic reader, I said, "Mr. King and myself wish to sell as many of the Scriptures as we can."—Copies, for this purpose, were in the house. He said he was aware of this; but that the sale of them had been pro-

Sunday, Oct. 12, 1823—I have in view two of the houses where, last Sunday, marriages took place. The court-yards, and the tops of the houses, are again crowded with guests. The expression, *That preach ye upon the house-tops*—appears nothing unnatural to those who daily see these houses. They are low and flat, and flat-roofed; and would give an opportunity to speak to many on the house, and many in the court-yard below. The continuance of the feasting illustrates Judges xiv. 12.

Monday, Oct. 13—This evening I had some conversation with Asaph, the servant, about prayer. He asked me why I went to bed so early. I said, I did not go to sleep; but I wished to have some time to read, meditate, and pray. He asked me why I did not pray in the sitting-room below. There happened to be a dispute at that very moment going on. I answered, "Many of you repeat your prayers in company: I can see your lips going; but the heart needs quiet and silence. Our Saviour said, *Thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet; and, when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father which is in secret.*" (Matt. vi. 6.) Asaph speaks a very vulgar Arabic, and so quick that I can with difficulty understand him. My hope is, that, when I speak about religion to these people, though I cannot perfectly understand them, they may competently understand me.

There are two branches of language which are comparatively little learned, that is, little exercised, by persons who may nevertheless attain the reputation of being great linguists: these are, the speaking of a language, and the hearing of it spoken so as to understand it. Of these two, the hearing with intelligence is, beyond all comparison, the most difficult; while both of them are, to missionaries, essential and indispensable acquisitions.

RETURN TO BEIROUT.

Wednesday, Oct. 15, 1823—Having been unwell since the rains began, and fearing to be worse, I set off for Beirut this morning. When I had been on my journey about half an hour, the sun rose, in the midst of the most majestic clouds, above the high range of Lebanon. The view of the palace of Ebtedin was peculiarly noble. But how melancholy are these grand and lovely prospects rendered by reflections on the state of man—the being who is creeping

upon the surface of that earth, which God has so beautifully formed, and which at this early hour, He every day so gloriously illuminates! How are our feelings of rapture checked, when, on viewing a lovely scene, we remember that it is the residence of a man-of-blood! The more I know of the people of the East, the greater is the value which I see stamped upon the labors of Missionary Societies.

At Ainep, where we again halted before noon to refresh ourselves, there was a great mourning. About thirty Sheiks sat assembled in a wide circle near the khan; and thence proceeded up the hill, to assist in the burying of some great man, one of the Druses. One of the company, a most venerable figure with a snowy beard, stood up for some minutes, and harangued the assembly, with apparently much disguised emotion. He seemed to me the very picture of Abraham communing with the children of Heth. I was particularly struck to observe, that, though of these Sheiks the greater part consisted of Druses, known by their broad-striped dress, yet there were many Christians, who joined in the funeral procession. The house of mourning seems, in every country, to be, in some measure, consecrated to the spirit of amity: there, religious antipathies are at least suspended, if not extinguished; and persons, who would not have thought of meeting in the same church, yet willingly assemble over one and the same grave.

On my arrival at Beirout, I was soon joined by Mr. Wolff; with whom I spent, during this week, several profitable hours; conferring with him, as I afterward did with the other missionaries, on a tract which I am continually preparing relative to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in these latter days.

FASHION OF SPLENDID DRESSES.

Whatever other fashions may have changed in the East— and yet we may truly believe that very few have varied— there is one still stationary, the sight of which carries us back to the remotest Scripture antiquity: I mean the fashion of splendid dresses. I had a full specimen of it this evening, in the lady of the house. She produced from her wardrobe, at least ten heavy outer garments, coats of many colors, embroidered and spangled with gold and silver and

flowers. I was weary with her shewing them, at which she seemed surprised. There are some of them as old as the date of her marriage, some still older. They are only worn on great festivals, as Christmas, Easter, &c. when she sits in state to receive her friends, and hands coffee and a pipe to them. It is whimsical, however, to see how her splendid dresses are contrasted with her humble daily occupations: for, in the ordinary duties of the house, she is to be found sweeping out the kitchen, boiling the pot, &c. and she eats her meals when her husband and his friends have finished, sitting on the ground with her children and servants at the parlor-door; and such, generally, is the condition of females in eastern countries. She wears an infinity of braids, which hang down all the length of her back, and terminate in gold sequins; which, together with those that she wears on her head, may be worth from five to ten pounds sterling. The advice of St. Peter is quite forgotten in this land. *The ornament of a meek and quiet spirit appears to be very little known; but the adorning of plaining the hair, and of wearing of gold, and putting-on of apparel is most studiously retained.* In fact, none can go to greater excess, in this particular, than the bishops and clergy themselves; who, on all high festivals, are decked in such gorgeous and almost effeminate robes, as must necessarily lead the fashion, and tend to annihilate the simplicity which becomes christians.

I have often, in my dealings with the people of this country, felt that a most apt motto for them, as serving to remind them of two duties in which they chiefly fail, would be, "LOVE THE TRUTH AND PEACE." There are no faults which so constantly harass our spirits here, as falsehood and vociferation.

GANDOLFI, THE POPE'S APOSTOLIC VICAR.

Thursday, Oct. 16, 1823—The Pope's Apostolic Vicar, Monseignor Gandolfi, whose residence at Antoura has been before noticed, being at present in Beirout, I waited on him with our consul. The remark made with respect to many of the Latins in this country, that such or such an one is no bigot, carries with it a very partial satisfaction to those who desire to see an ecclesiastic well acquainted with what the truth is, and sincerely and ardently attached to the truth, and zealous in its propagation.

The conversation of Monseignior Gandolfi was that of an acute, polite, and social person, who knows the world. He is now about seventy years of age; and came to his present situation before the breaking out of the French revolution. As representative of the Pope, he is properly the organ of communication to the churches of Syria upon subjects of dogmatical theology.

His sway, in matters of discipline, is extremely limited. The professing Roman Catholics among the natives are governed by their own respective Hierarchies: these, of course, keep their own affairs as close as may be; and lay themselves open as seldom as possible to inspection, or interference from Rome. Even the Latin friars, established in the various convents from Jerusalem to Aleppo, are not under his jurisdiction: they have their respective Superiors in Syria and Palestine; who correspond, each with the General of his own Order in Rome. When the Propaganda was in power, and still more when the Jesuits were in authority, the situation now held by Monseignior Gandolfi must have been one of the greatest influence. In reading the "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*," or the document hereafter given in this volume on the subject of education—a business which was much in the hands of the Jesuits—the magnitude of the office of Apostolic Legate about a hundred years ago, and previously, becomes very apparent.

DRUSES.

A principal topic of our conversation was the remarkable religious divisions in this country. These have been already recorded in the opening part of this volume. The Druses, universally, are an object of curiosity to all residents and visitors in Syria; and, consequently, they are a frequent subject of conversation: and yet all appear to me equally in the dark, as to what the Druses really are. Some of their peculiar customs or observances are all which writers or persons in the country can describe. One thing noticed by Monseignior Gandolfi seemed to the company an inexplicable wonder in their character. "You shall see," he observed, "a young man among them, dissolute in the highest degree, given to every vice, and altogether unbridled; yet, on his becoming initiated, in an instant his character is changed to sobriety and even rigid virtue: instead of drinking wine freely, he drinks water

only: his passions are curbed; his vices seem to drop off from him; and he is as strict, as before he was licentious." This description struck the hearers with amazement; nor did they seem to know how to account for it. Some secret principle in the religious theory of the Druses, was what their minds were evidently turning to, as the operative cause of such miraculous conversions. I endeavored, therefore, to explain them, upon a principle, which every man, who examines his own heart, may easily descry. Admitting the fact, as stated, to be true, yet it may be nothing more than a change from the indulgence of the *lusts of the flesh*, to the more dominant tyranny of the *lusts of the spirit*—the dæmon of pride, expelling the dæmon of licentiousness. The unclean spirit, as our Lord describes, is gone out of the man: but, ere long, seven other spirits, still more wicked, enter in; and take up their abode in the restless, unhumbled heart; and the last state of that man is worse than the first. All assented to this view; but, with it, the conversation on this topic dropped.

There is, however, reason to doubt how far the fact stated may be a matter of mere appearances. The Druses are said by Burckhardt to be more observant of outward decorum than of genuine morality.

RETURN TO ANTOURA.

Saturday, Oct. 18, 1823—Having received letters from Malta, I went to Antoura to make arrangements for quitting this part of the country, to go southward. On the road, I met Mr. King; who was, with a similar purpose, going to Beirout. After exchanging a few words, we each pursued his destination. I arrived, by a beautiful moonlight, at the college; where I found Mr. Lewis and Mr. Fisk: as also Luigi Assemani from Ain el Warka.

COURSE OF STUDIES AT AIN EL WARKA.

Sunday, Oct. 19, 1823—Yesterday evening and this morning, I have had much conversation with Luigi Assemani. He gave me this account of the studies at Ain el Warka. The age of entering the college is various; from eleven to eighteen years of age. The term of complete study is four years. In the first year, they learn the Syriac grammar: in the second, they read the book of the church-offices,

both in Syriac and Arabic: in the third, they study, as he expressed it, prosody; but, on my asking his meaning, he said that he was not himself versed in this, and did not quite understand it:* in the fourth year, they are occupied with moral theology; not dogmatical. All who are admitted must study with a view to the priesthood.

The present Maronite Patriarch, Joseph, was of this college. He has been elected but a few months; he adds Peter to his name, as being successor of St. Peter in the See of Antioch. He resides at Kanobiu, beyond Tripoli. The young men, when they have taken orders, are at the command of the Patriarch, to be sent to Damascus, or elsewhere, as he may choose.

LUIGI ASSEMANNI.

I find this young man to be very feeble in health and spirits. I gave him much counsel: and, as he expects one day to go to Rome again, to fill some office as interpreting secretary, I reminded him, that one word from him might do great good or great harm; and especially cautioned him, never to sign his name to any thing which he knew to be unchristian or untrue. I gave him a sketch of the tribulations, which may be expected to fall on all those who uphold a system of deceit and error;† and, in the contemplation of his possibly living to witness troublous times, gave him for a motto these words—"La fede vincitrice nelle tribolazioni"—"Faith triumphant in tribulations"—explaining that I did not, by "The Faith," mean any particular form of words, or constitution of a church; but a personal, living faith, dwelling in a man's heart, working by love, and leading him to Christ for constant support.

He did not, poor youth, forget before his departure those two words, which might very properly be taken for the motto to the armorial bearings of Syria—"Give, give." We willingly administered to his necessities. Much could we wish that there were as ardent a desire for the Sacred Scriptures, as there is for the supply of the wants of the body! God alone can put this spiritual desire into their hearts—a *hungering and thirsting after righteousness*.

* Query, if this may be what is referred to in the account of the course of education, from which I have, in a subsequent page, made extracts; signifying what we should call Belles Lettres.

† 2 Thess. ii. 7-12.

world. The Armenians are, in fact, an industrious, ingenious, persevering race; not at all, I have been told, addicted to war, but to civil pursuits: especially as bankers, in which character they rival the Jews.

DISCUSSION WITH AN ARMENIAN ECCLESIASTIC.

After going over the whole building, we were invited to visit an aged priest who occupies an apartment here. In former times, he has visited Rome frequently. He considers himself in the light of a British subject; having made himself, at one time, useful to Sir Sydney Smith.

We had here a very long conversation, on various points concerning the state of religion in the east, and the opinions of the western churches. The Armenian Ecclesiastic took the chief part in it, the other priest being very infirm. Particularly he defended the question of the monastic vows. I urged that there was no sufficient reason for them; and that they were contrary to nature and the design of scripture: particularly I pressed the extreme improbability that the young men should be able to know themselves sufficiently, when they make the vow of celibacy. "To this end," he said, "surely in a probation of two years, kept under strict rule, they would be able to judge of their ability to continue in the observance of that rule." "Far from it," I said: "their nature is not developed in so short a space of time: the extraneous restraints, under which they are placed, may give them an artificial opinion of themselves and of the world; and, when they come into real life and its snares, two years' probation will be found to have done very little for them. And for what object, which could not as well be attained by them as married men?" He turned to St. Paul's argument in 1 Cor. vii.; in discussing which, we pointed out the consideration that the Apostle's view applied more particularly to times of persecution and distress, when the office of preaching the gospel might be embarrassed by the preachers' having families; as well as the converts themselves hindered, by the same circumstance, in their flight from the persecutor. We then asked, how far this applied to their case: he would have evaded the question, by asking if there were not other useful objects to be attained by study, and seclusion, and celibacy: we pressed upon him, that St. Paul gives no other reasons for the expediency of the state of celibacy, than that it gives more freedom from

worldly distraction, and thus affords more leisure for the active service of God; and now, "in what way," we asked, "do these convents promote the active service of God? Do the priests here preach the gospel, at the hazard of their lives? Is it to this, that their young men are trained? Does their unmarried state, which would give them an opportunity of more easily escaping if their life were sought for, encourage them to stand out boldly on behalf of the Gospel? What for example, is the state of the convents in Mount Lebanon? What converts are they in the habit of making among the Mohammedans?" "Are you, then, he asked," "come to preach to the Mohammedans?" I replied, "I will go with you, and preach to them:" but from this answer he manifestly drew back. He asked what ground we had for supposing that all countries would become christian—expressing it as his opinion, that the promises of sacred scripture do not go to prove that all the world will be christian, but that there will be some christians in all countries; a sufficient number to stand as witnesses of the truth, and examples to their Heathen or Mohammedan neighbors. "Is there then," I asked, "a sufficient number of converts to christianity in Mount Lebanon and Syria?" To this he principally answered, that he thought the call to preach the gospel applied fully to Pagan nations; but that, in these countries, nothing could be done without protection—that the moment any one should begin to preach generally, out of the line which he was known to occupy, he would be put down by the government. Here he, at once, came to their *magnum gravamen*. We dwelt on the obstacles opposed to the first entrance of christianity, and its triumphant success in spite of them; endeavoring to shew how much we all need the revival of the faith and zeal of the primitive times. The expression was used by me, incidentally, that they needed new opinions—at which they started: I immediately explained, pointing to a bible on the shelf, that that book contained all my opinions; and that what I meant to express, was, NEW FEELING of the opinions there laid down for christians. Mr. Fisk emphatically added, "A NEW HEART!"

The two priests, in conclusion, asked me, whether there were many in England who thought on this subject as I had expressed myself. Remembering the scenes which I had witnessed at the anniversaries of the different religious societies in May 1821, I ventured to say, that we have both

Bishops and noblemen, as well as many others of the nation, who earnestly desire to see the preaching of the pure Gospel in the Turkish empire. I am not sure that his question was not intended to elicit a feeling of sympathy for their political circumstances. I limited my answer to the religious view of the question.

They, likewise, inquired whether our religious societies would encourage their young men in their studies, and give them help if they went to England. To this, considering the sense in which the question was put, I did not give any very encouraging reply. Indeed I am more than ever convinced, that, although it would be less gratifying to our feelings to teach them in their own native soil, than to invite them to ours; yet more good incomparably will be done, by one faithful missionary's going among them, than by a plan for receiving twenty or any number of them among ourselves. Should any of them visit England, mere courtesy would lead them to accommodate themselves, as far as possible, to our habits: but, should they change their manners in their own land, the change may be more fairly set down to the account of real conversion of heart. And is not this change more likely to be effected by the example and instructions of one pious and zealous man stationed among them, than by their viewing us "en masse," and acquiring what at best might be only a general good impression in favor of our national character?

RETURN TO ANTOURA.

At the close of this conversation we prepared to depart. The first part of our ride was as hot as it had been in the morning; but, during the latter part of it, we enjoyed the coolness of evening, and the descent of the dew after sunset upon the fragrant herbs—the *smell of Lebanon*. (Canticles iv, 11.) It is not, indeed, very easy to converse in these single parties, where one follows another: but, although conversation cannot thus be rapid, or among several persons at once, yet when it is between two individuals it assumes a much more meditative cast. In this manner, wearied with the day, but refreshed by the last half-hour, we reached Antoura.

Tuesday, Oct. 21, 1823—The early part of the morning was engaged in preparing finally to quit Antoura, where I had been so kindly welcomed by Mr. Lewis; and where,

with the rest of the missionary brethren, I had unexpectedly derived, from our united prayers and conversations, a greater measure of spiritual edification, than, in my former solitary travels, I had ever had the opportunity to enjoy. After we had breakfasted, the Latin friar of Hareesa, Padre Carlo, came in from Beirout: to him I gave an Italian Testament. The number of rooms in his convent he states at thirty, now occupied by himself alone.

CONVENT OF MAR MICHAEL.

On quitting Antoura, I proceeded to the Convent of Mar Michael, about three quarters of an hour distant, where dwells Ignatius, the Catholic-Greek patriarch. He is a very infirm old man, blind and bed-ridden. About fifteen or twenty priests are in the convent; and, at a small room near the entrance is a school, where I noted about fifteen boys noisily saying their lessons to the master. The service of these Greek Catholics is chiefly in Arabic, with a few doxologies in Greek. They call themselves Melchites. The aspect of this establishment was very far from comfortable or clean; and the ecclesiastics whom we saw had a very indolent appearance.

RETURN TO BEIROUT.

I reached Beirout in the afternoon. Here I found Mr. King, and learned that Mr. Wolff had set off for Damascus.

Wednesday, Oct. 22—This afternoon Mr. Fisk arrived from Antoura. We remained in Beirout a week: during which many copies of the sacred Scriptures were sold, while we also made our arrangements for departing for Jerusalem; Mr. Fisk having kindly consented to be my companion on this journey.

Saturday, Oct. 25—This evening Mr. Lewis also arrived from Antoura, with the intention of making a tour of some length to Damascus, and from thence to Jerusalem. I had, also, this evening an interview with the Greek procurator, who acts for the Greek bishop of Beirout, of the orthodox oriental church. We wished to sell the Greek sacred Scriptures to him; but he complains of the great distresses which have fallen upon his nation since the revolution. The bishop has retired from the city to the

mountains: the people are scattered; and are in continual alarm.

The procurator reads ancient Greek very well: his uncle was a Greek bishop; and, perceiving in him a turn for study, educated him. How many of this people are now continually being sacrificed—men who have made a far greater progress, than any others of the East, in useful knowledge!—men truly distinguished for having blended commercial and literary enterprise! Were *they* to be exterminated, the Levant would be thrown back some ages into barbarism, and the instrumentality of learning in the propagation of Christianity nearly lost. And yet if the sword has a charge against these countries, to destroy the accumulated errors and superstitions of so many ages—corruptions which seem likely to yield to no other discipline—it may yet be long, very long, ere that sword be quiet.

Sunday, Oct. 26, 1823—This morning, notice having been previously given to the Frank consuls and residents in Beirut, that there would be divine service in Italian at the British consul's Garden-house, we assembled to the number of twenty. Mr. Fisk read portions of the sacred Scripture; and prayed; after which I preached from Matthew xviii. 20. *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.*

SOME ACCOUNT OF BEIROUT.

The following day closed my residence for the present, in Mount Lebanon.

In order to give, at one view, the whole of my observations in this part of the country, in this place may very properly be subjoined the few additional remarks which I made on my return hither at the close of the year.

The population of Beirut I endeavored to estimate as nearly as possible, by the enumeration of houses. Within the walls of the city, there may be about three thousand souls. Without the walls, to a distance of half a mile in various directions, are many country houses, some of which consist of but one or two rooms: yet such a dwelling often suffices for the residence of a whole rustic family. In summer, they scarcely seem to need the covering of a house; and, in winter, their only plan to keep themselves warm is, to crowd many into small a space. These country-

houses I, as nearly as possible counted: they may be in number about three hundred, and probably contain a population of two thousand souls. Thus the whole of Beirut would give a population of five thousand. The houses in the city are exceedingly close, dirty, and ruinous; and the streets very offensive.

Besides the English consul, there are vice consuls, or agents, representing the French, Austrian, Russian, Neapolitan, and Prussian governments.

They have a curious method of tanning leather here, making every passenger contribute to the operation. The skins of animals are first stretched, and then laid flat upon the bare ground or rude pavement. Thus the rain, the mire, and the feet of the passenger, of the camel, of the horse, and of the ass, all contribute to cure them. It becomes necessary to step with caution; and, indeed, notwithstanding the utmost care, a few slips, and even falls, are the consequence of this public nuisance. After this seasoning, the skin becomes a rude kind of leather, fit for ordinary uses.

The houses in the suburbs are, in general, more slightly built, than those in the city. In summer, the inconvenience of this is not felt; and their airiness is extremely grateful. I occupied a room, the dimensions of which were about ten feet by seven, and which had six windows, and was entered by a trap-door. In winter, however, I found, by bitter experience, how much these flimsy structures must contribute to fever, ague, and rheumatism. Being constructed of only one thickness of stone, and that of a very porous quality, and very thinly if at all stuccoed within, they absorb the moisture greatly. When the heavy rains from the south set in, the whole of the south side of the house in which we were living became, in the course of three tempestuous days, soaked through like a sheet of blotting paper.

STATE OF THE WINDS AT BEIROUT.

In this country, the same general rule holds, as was declared more than three thousand years ago—*The north wind driveth away rain.* (Prov. xxv. 23.) Tempestuous weather, on the contrary, is from the south and west. The south-west wind seems here to have the same effect, as, in Malta, the south-east; so well known to every resident in the Mediterranean by the name of the Sciroc wind.

Whether it may be that the African continent mainly contributes to this hazy and dispiriting wind, and therefore in Syria it comes from a direction westward of south, is doubtful; for there seems good reason to expect a similar effect from the deserts of Arabia, which are to the south-east: but it is most probable, that Beirout and the whole of this line of coast is screened from such a quality of south-east wind by the high range of Lebanon, now (January 1824) covered with snow. And thus the direction of the Sciroc influence veers a few points, coming from south, and even south-west. It has here precisely the same effect as in Malta, moistening and softening every thing, rendering the spirits languid, and detecting every weak point in the body. I am now speaking of its operation in the winter months. I do not remember to have noticed it in autumn.

STATE OF THE CHRISTIANS OF BEIROUT.

During the former part of my residence of fifty days, from December 22d, to the following February 9th, in Beirout, which was spent in the house of the friendly American missionaries, we had a visit of many days from Hanna Doomani, from Deir el Kamr. It was our daily practice to read the Arabic Scriptures in the family circle. In the evening, frequently, some neighbors would drop in; and, on what we read, much interesting conversation ensued. Yet it was affecting to see among professing christians, who were otherwise intelligent enough, a great deal of ignorance on most essential points of christian theology. Sometimes, the prevailing superstitions of the country fell under the censure of the passage which we read; or these native christians, of their own accord, brought them into discussion. It was not always easy to keep them calm, for they disputed against one another. The only method which ever succeeded, and indeed it would be difficult to find any other which would succeed, was to bring them round again to Scripture.

One of our visitors was father Simeon, an aged Maronite priest, who lived in a neighboring house. His account of the state of the christians in this place was, that there are about a hundred families of Maronites in Beirout; of whom thirty or forty reside in the city, and the remainder in the country-houses without the walls: for these, there are four priests, three of whom (himself being one of them) are

married: one lives in the city; the rest in the suburbs. He has three sons and one daughter: this last is entered at the nunnery at Antoura. This priest was, for many days, very friendly—read in the sacred Scriptures with us—and received copies for the purpose of selling them; but a painful circumstance, at length, interrupted the distribution of these books, although not his friendliness.

This was an order which was read, under the authority of the Maronite patriarch, on the 6th of January, prohibiting his flock from purchasing or using the Arabic Bibles or Testaments, printed in London. This has embarrassed the priest, and many others; who are favorable, in the main, to the distribution of the sacred Scriptures: and, for a season, it may retard their circulation; only, however, for a season. It seemed to me not a little remarkable, that the festival, on which this patriarchal order was appointed to be read in the churches, should be that which celebrates in their church, as in ours, the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles.

What connexion there may have been between this public order and a visit which we had the next day, I know not; but, in the afternoon of January the 7th, three Maronites, one of them a youth, came and sat in the court of the house two hours; the chief part of which time they spent in reading aloud to themselves, all together—one in the Arabic Old Testament, the other in the New Testament, and the boy in the Psalter. They came several times afterward, being neighbors; and, in this way, neighbors often are willing to come. They said that they possessed the Testament at home: the entire Bible they occasionally begged leave to borrow for an evening.

MANNER OF READING IN SYRIA.

Their way of reading aloud brings to my mind some remarks which I have often made on the customs of the Levant. Generally speaking, people in these countries seem not to understand a book, till they have made it vocal. They usually go on reading aloud, with a kind of singing voice; moving their heads and bodies in time, and making a monotonous cadence at regular intervals—thus giving emphasis; although not such an emphasis, pliant to the sense, as would please an English ear. Very often they seem to read without perceiving the sense; and to be pleased

with themselves, merely because they can go through the mechanical act of reading in any way. They run over a full period, as if they had no perception of it; and stop in the middle of a sentence, wherever they may happen to want to take breath. On one occasion, when I was shewing some persons from an English book how we read, inartificially and naturally, they laughed, and said, "You are not reading: you are talking." I might retort upon an oriental reader—"You are not reading; you are chanting." I can very well understand how it was that Philip should hear at what passage in Isaiah the Ethiopian Eunuch was reading, before he was invited to come up and sit with him in the chariot (Acts viii. 30, 31.) The Eunuch though probably reading to himself, and not particularly designing to be heard by his attendants, would read loud enough to be understood by a person at some distance.

FRANK ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

It may be well here to notice, in detail, the state of the Roman Catholic Missions from Europe.

Beirut, Jerusalem, and Aleppo appear to be the central stations, with which the Latin convents correspond. The Superior in Beirut is of the Franciscan order; and has under him Beirut, Saide, Hareesa, Abiene, Selimi, and one of the two convents at Damascus; with one or two more in Mount Lebanon, the names of which I have not correctly taken down; on subjects of religion, they refer directly to Rome; but, for civil protection, look to the French consuls. The convent in Jerusalem has under its jurisdiction Bethlehem, Nazareth, Ramla, Acre, and the other of the two Frank convents at Damascus: these, also, on religious subjects correspond directly with Rome; but, for civil matters, are under Spanish protection. There is also a Latin establishment in Cyprus. At Aleppo, I was informed, are four Frank convents, belonging to as many different orders, viz. Franciscans, Capuchins, Carmelites, and Jesuits: these last—the order of Jesuits having, at its dissolution, changed its title to that of Lazzarists—are under the immediate cognisance of Monseignor Gandolfi.

DETAILED STATE OF THESE MISSIONS.

Although it is somewhat an anticipation of remarks subsequently made in various parts of the Holy Land, I cannot

forbear noticing, in this place, the surprising decay of missionary spirit and learning in these establishments.

I met with one of the Latin friars, who has resided between twenty and thirty years in these countries, and yet knows only sufficient of Arabic to converse on common topics, but can neither read nor write the language: and this, more or less, is the actual state of nearly all.

But that which is to be noticed with the greatest concern, is the spirit of worldliness, and even of infidelity, manifested by some of them. They sometimes also speak so freely against their own church, that I have instantly checked myself with the thought—"What encouragement can we have given to them to speak thus? Indifference to the religion which they profess is surely at least as blameable as bigotry." They appear to be far less supported than formerly by the countries which they have left, and yet not much attached to the foreign country in which they reside—occupying convents, built in other times and by men of a different stamp.

How many temptations to sloth, trifling, and sin, does this monastic system furnish! In the performance of their multiplied rites, it is to be feared, the mind can enjoy very little pure and heavenly delight: from the genial influence of friendly and social prayer they are in a manner debarred; for every thing must be done by rule and form, and according to book: the office of preaching not being practised by them, or at the most very rarely, they are deprived of that powerful impulse to cultivate habits of furnishing and improving their minds, and of cherishing and pouring forth their best affections toward all around them. On those festivals which lead them more peculiarly into contact with the Frank residents of the principal towns, an easy convivial temper is found to be a greater recommendation, than spirituality of mind and conversation. The holy rest of the Sabbath is, moreover, universally profaned to purposes of visiting, and amusements of every description. If to all this it be added, that the spirit of infidelity, in its gradual course from the west and south of Europe into the Levant, finds not much purity of manners to discountenance, or power of learning to refute it, we shall have a tolerably complete picture of the melancholy condition of this region.

The decay of the Romish missions is certainly opening the way for the labors of Protestant Christians: but how loudly does it teach the members of all our rising institu-

tions to fear, lest they, in their turn, should become secular corrupt, and inefficient! It is, indeed, a solemn call upon us, to look well to our motives and our measures—to endeavor *to approve ourselves in all things as the ministers of God; by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the Word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left.*

DEPARTURE FROM BEIROUT FOR JERUSALEM.

Tuesday, Oct. 28, 1823—After having furnished ourselves with a supply of the Scriptures to distribute on our way to Jerusalem, four heavy boxes of them having been sent forward by sea to Acre, Mr. Fisk and myself took our departure from Beirout this morning. Our road lay over the hills south of Beirout, which, running to the westward, form a promontory by which this part of the coast is distinguished by mariners, as their guide to the harbor of Beirout. Our passage over these hills, which are of red colored sand, was to me very oppressive; and, as soon as we reached a small miserable khan on the sea-coast, I gladly threw myself down to rest while some provisions were prepared.

NABYOONAS.

We then coasted all the way to Nabyoonas, or Nabi Yunas, a very commodious khan, kept by a dervish, who entertained us hospitably for our money. We observed at sea, not above two miles from us, a Greek cruiser, which had picked up four small vessels as prizes, and was keeping them together till the next morning.

The spot called Nabi Yunas is a pleasant retired beach; where, as the tradition of the country says, the prophet Jonas was cast upon dry land, after being three days and three nights in the belly of the whale. The dervish, a Mohammedan, who received us, owns this tradition, as well as the Christians. In the evening he sat with us half an hour, while we produced our Arabic Bible and read, partly we to him and partly he to us, the story of Jonah, out of the book of that prophet. He kissed the book, and exclaimed, "The English know more about their religion, than we do about ours!" On his leaving our room, we had prayers with our servant; reading the second chapter of Jonah in

Italian. We did not omit to pray that we might be preserved from Jonah's unfaithfulness, and have grace to go whithersoever it might please God to send us.

SAIDE.

Wednesday, Oct. 29—We arrived at Saide about ten o'clock in the morning.* This city has a very noble and picturesque aspect at the distance of about two miles; standing boldly out into the sea, on rather high ground, and embosomed in trees. Saide is very nearly the boundary, to the north of the Holy Land. (See Joshua xix, 28.) A mile before we reached it, we had to cross a river, which at this season was fordable; but in the winter is not so, being passed by a bridge a little higher up.

We lodged at the house of the English agent, Yagoub Aga, who was formerly an Armenian bishop in the convent at Jerusalem, but having chosen to marry, and having thus violated ecclesiastical rules, he was severed from that body, and is now living more after the manner of a layman than of an ecclesiastic. I had already seen him at Beirout. He professes much friendship for the Bible Society, and is very ready in turning to the passage in 1 Timothy iii, 2, which condemns the celibacy of his church, and justifies his own conduct. On the strength of this he says, that the English church and he are in accordance. But his language is not that of an humble and pious man; and not every professed change of party, opinion, or custom, is conversion. He has, at present, in his house a French gentleman, who was proceeding, about two years ago, with the French Charge d'Affaires to Bagdad: he is an ecclesiastic, but he so little liked his enterprise, that, when he had reached Aleppo, he gave it up.

We visited also the French vice consul, M. Regnaud; and in his khan called also on Namet Alla, (the name signifies the grace or favor of God,) a Greek Catholic priest, very simple in his manner, and intelligent. While we were making these visits, the Greek cruiser which we had seen the day before, sent on shore the four small vessels which she had captured, after having taken from them all that was valuable; adding a message that they had on board a Turk, for

* "The Christians lost the city of Saide in 1111. They took it again from the Saracens, and St. Louis repaired it, in the year 1250; but the Saracens made themselves masters of it, a second time, in the year 1289; and the Emir Fakredin judged fit to block up the harbor, that he might for ever keep at a distance his enemies."

Leitree Edif. et Curieuses, vol. 1. p. 214.

whose ransom they would accept six hundred piastres (about fifteen pounds sterling;) but there was little probability that the Turks in Saide would give that sum for the liberty of their countrymen. Such is the miserable warfare now going on in the Levant! a widely-extended civil war, embittered by religious animosity.

We had not much encouragement here for the sale of the Scriptures.

Some of the houses in Saide, and especially the great Khan which formerly was occupied by the French factory, still serve to remind us of the flourishing state in which their commerce was about a hundred years ago, and even still later. Together with their commerce was united a very effective Jesuit mission, of which the following account will not be unacceptable to the reader.

After mentioning various circumstances which led them to establish their mission at Saide, the writer, who was the Superior General of the Jesuit missions in Syria and Egypt, proceeds to describe the formation of a French congregation, among whom one of their missionaries exercised the office of chaplain, in the following terms:—

“The gentlemen of the French nation, who had been the assiduous hearers of Father Rigordy during Advent and Lent, were so much touched by his discourses, that they formed the resolution of retaining him for the purpose of establishing at Saide a mission, similar to that at Damascus. They gave him an apartment in the vast house which several of them occupied; and provided for his maintenance and that of two other missionaries, whom he was to obtain to share with him the labors of the mission.

“This Father, who knew by experience how much good or evil is done among foreigners by the good or bad example of the French out of their own country, judged fit to commence his mission, by laboring for the religious benefit of those French who were collected for purposes of commerce at Saide. The method most proper for succeeding in this was the establishment of a congregation, on the model of those which our society has always taken pains to establish in all our houses, in order to bring persons of different conditions and ages to the practice of the duties and virtues of their state.

“He proposed this to the most ancient and distinguished of the merchants; assuring them, at the same time, that the erection of a congregation in honor of the Holy Virgin

would give them, in this august mother of God, a powerful protectress, who would draw upon them, their families, and their commerce, abundant benedictions.

“These assurances from a man who had gained their esteem and confidence, produced the effect desired by Father Rigordy. They not only consented to this establishment, but they co-operated with the father, in preparing a commodious chapel, and in associating with themselves other French merchants to begin with them the exercises of the congregation.

“The principals were M. Andre (afterward elected patriarch of the Syrian nation,) Messrs. Stoupans, Audifroy, Lambert, and Piquet. These first Congregationists did infinite honor to the new establishment. All the leisure, which they had from the occupations of commerce, they employed in good works. They took, especially, great care in assisting poor christians; seeking them out in those obscure places where their poverty lay concealed. God put such honor on their good example, that several other considerable French merchants desired to be admitted into the number of the Congregationists. They were known in the city for their modesty, piety, and charity. Strangers were edified by the sight; and were the first to praise the good effects produced by the establishment.—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses: Vol. I. pp. 217—219.*

FROM SAIDE TO SOUR.

Thursday, Oct. 30, 1823—We departed for Sour. The scenery, through the chief part of this day's ride, is remarkably simple. On the right hand is the sea; on the left, a low modest line of mountains: the intervening country is quite flat, varying in width generally from a hundred and fifty to three hundred yards; though, nearer Sour, it is occasionally a thousand yards, or even a mile, in width. About three hours from Saide is shewn, a little way up the contiguous mountains, a small village now called Zarfa, and supposed to be the Zarephath or Sarepta, where the widow dwelt to whom Elisha the prophet was sent: (1 Kings xvii. 9. Luke iv. 26.) The path on which we are riding is a pleasant turf; a very agreeable contrast to the sand and rock, to which we have hitherto been accustomed.

The remarkably simple air of this level tract of land suits with that touching portion of the Gospel, which re-

cords the interview of our Saviour on this very spot, the *coasts of Tyre and Sidon*, with the Syro-Phœnician woman. This is, indeed, the first place, in which we have had occasion to draw out our New Testaments to trace the course of our Saviour's history.

About half-way between Saïde and Sour (Sidon and Tyre) are very extensive ruins of towns, which once connected these two cities: but, of these ruins, there is now scarcely one stone left upon another. They consist chiefly of lines which shew, razed even with the soil, the foundations of houses—many stones irregularly scattered—a few cisterns with half-defaced sculpture on them; and, at a considerable distance from the path, there are at one spot several low columns, either mutilated or considerably sunk in the earth. The animal on which I rode set his foot on a very small piece of Mosaic work, but it was too paltry to deserve the pains of stooping down to pick it up. These reliques shew, what it needed indeed no such evidence to prove, that, in peaceable and flourishing times, on this road between two such considerable cities as Tyre and Sidon, there must have been many smaller towns, for pleasure, business, and agriculture, delightfully situated by the sea-side: but peaceful security has long been a blessing unknown to these regions; and we may apply to them the language of Judges v. 7. *The villages ceased: they ceased in Israel.* Hence it is, that, instead of resting pleasantly at shorter intervals on our journey, we are obliged to make stretches of a day's length, that we may reach the different cities by night; a method, for us, far preferable to travelling with a tent and arms.

CONVENT OF DEIR MHALLES.

Shortly before we arrived in Sour, we were overtaken by a party of Turks and christians. One of the christians was a young priest, from the celebrated convent in the neighborhood, Deir Mhallee. I joined conversation with him. He spoke only Arabic. They have a bishop from Rome, who is a learned man. The number of monks belonging to the convent is, he says, a hundred and one: but, of these, about fifty are distributed in various parts of the country, performing the parochial duty of the different towns. I have already noted that there are three of these at Deir el Kamar. They are all Greek Catholics, or Melchites.

SOUR.

On reaching Sour, we took a room in the Greek Catholic convent, the state of which we were surprised to see; for only the upper rooms were occupied by a few monks, while all the lower rooms round the court-yard were occupied by families. In a school-room here, we counted seventy boys; they were, for the most part, learning in the psalter: we sold several Arabic psalters to them, but the price of the New Testament was above their means. The Greek-Catholic bishop, formerly here, is dead.

Friday, Oct. 31, 1823—Early in the morning we walked out, to survey a little the aspect of this once far-famed city. Turning to our right, we came to the western part of it, and found a very large tract totally unoccupied by houses, where animals were grazing. It was skirted to the west by a wall: on looking over this to the sea beneath, we saw the breakers freely dashing over many a column prostrate among the rocks. This was the first memento of Tyrian story which we beheld.

Going round to the left, we arrived at the ruins of the Greek church noticed by Maundrell; and, climbing up the broken steps of the winding stair-case in the turret to the top, we took a full view of the city and its neighborhood. We first endeavored to count the houses; which we estimated at about two hundred, but most of these consist of only one or two rooms: they are like huts, rather than houses; and very few had a second story. Interspersed among them are a few small gardens. The houses appear to be rather new—a circumstance which accounts for the apparent discrepancy between this statement and that of Maundrell. He describes Tyre in his time, as containing “nothing but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c.; there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harboring themselves in the vaults”—all which might very well be the case then, and yet it may have a different appearance now. It may be remarked, also, that the state of the season exceedingly influences our apprehensions of the condition of the poor towns of the Levant: if seen in bright dry weather like the present, their meanness is disguised; if viewed when wet, dirty, and cold, the rain often dripping through the roofs of the houses—the want of sensible comfort ag-

gravates all the other disgusts of a European traveller. It was in the month of March, A. D. 1696, that Maundrell visited Tyre. The narrow neck of land, eastward, by which the labors of Alexander connected Insular Tyre with the main-land, appears to be about a mile in width, from north to south: it is covered with sand. No trace appears of the line of the ancient channel. I have heard the wish expressed by a lover of antiquarian research, that he might have the privilege of digging in the sand here, to find helmets, spears, and other warlike memorials of Alexander: whether such an attempt has ever yet been made, I am unacquainted. Looking toward the sea, on the other side of the peninsular city, westward, we see a line of broken ledges of rocks running nearly north and south, as a kind of tangent to the projecting western extremity of Tyre: this line extends on the northern side about a mile, on the southern about a quarter of a mile. The harbor of Modern Tyre is formed by the ledges on the north, through the intervals of which there are two or three passages for vessels of small size, as also an open passage to the north; from which quarter the harbor is, however, much exposed. The small space, partially sheltered by the ledges to the south of the city, does not appear to be used by vessels; but it occurred to me, as a point to be ascertained by those who shall hereafter have more leisure to explore the state of the place, whether, when Tyre was an island, ships might not, through the channel afterwards filled up by Alexander, shift from one side to the other of the city, so as to have a secure birth in every state of the wind and sea; which, at present, they cannot have. It is difficult to perceive in what way, otherwise, the great maritime concerns of this place could, in ancient times, have been maintained.

On leaving this Greek church, we went to the water-side, accompanied by a christian, an intelligent man, a native of Tyre; who had not dared to ascend with us the highest part of the ruined stair-case, lest he should incur some penalty from the Turks. We took a boat for the purpose of observing the northern line of rocks; and of examining what traces of antiquity were to be discovered, in that which now constitutes the harbor. There is, first, a very small inner cove, fit only for the admission of boats or small craft. Out of it we passed into the general harbor, by a narrow channel. On the eastern or land side of the harbor, is a small ruined tower; surrounded, at its foot, by a great number

of columns, scattered and thrown in every position: I counted them, and found their number to be about a hundred. The frequent expression of the prophet—in the *midst of the seas*—or, as the original has it, in the *heart of the seas*. (Ezekiel xxvii. 4, 26, 32. and xxviii. 2)—led me to suspect that buildings might once have existed even on these rocks; but, on going further out, and examining the first of these ledges of rocks, we were quite satisfied that no traces of antiquities are to be seen here. It was not possible, on account of the breakers, to go out to sea and explore the scattered columns, which we had before seen, over the city-wall, at the western side. We consequently returned; and the boatman, now understanding that we were in search of columns, pointed out, at the bottom of the first-mentioned small cove, a great number of very large size. It is said that the natives of the country have, in modern times, collected these columns and sunk them—not at Tyre only, but in other parts of Syria; with the desire of destroying the harbors, and thus impeding the approach of maritime nations to the mountainous and independent country of Lebanon.*

From the guide above mentioned, who seemed to know well the state of his native city, we received the following census of the population: one thousand Metawalies, principally soldiers—one hundred Turks—one hundred Maronites—of the Orthodox Greeks, only four or five: there were more formerly, but during the present troubles, they have removed. The principal body of christians, he says, are Greek Catholics, but he did not assign their number. His account would lead me to suppose the population to be fourteen or fifteen hundred souls. From the estimate which we made of the number of houses, namely two hundred, each of which, though meanly built, may be computed to hold five persons at least, there should result a population of full one thousand souls. I should rather given seven to each house, both for the reasons specified in estimating the population of Beirout, and because, as there are next to no villages near to Tyre, this city is the more likely to be densely peopled. The real number may therefore be, fourteen hundred.

* See Note at page 101.

RUINS OF ANCIENT TYRE.

At 12 o'clock, we took our departure from this interesting spot, and followed our route southward. But, before we finally leave this topic, it may be expedient to refer, somewhat at large, to the prophecies of Ezekiel and Isaiah, and to point out that this is not the Old City, *whose antiquity was of ancient days* (Is. xliii. 7;) and the total destruction of which is foretold by Ezekiel. We were yet to pass over the site of that proud ancient Tyre, situated, as Strabo relates, about eight miles southward of the then insular, but now peninsular, Tyre. Not distinguishing between the ancient and present Tyre, and supposing the modern city to be a rebuilding of the old, the mind might be scandalized by the apparent want of completion of some part of Ezekiel's prophecy; particularly the following—*I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again:* (ch. xxvi. 21.) How exactly this has been accomplished to the very letter will, however, appear to every one passing southward, as we did this evening, from Modern Tyre toward Acre.

Somewhere upon this ground, and further on than Ras el Ain, must have been the site of the first Tyre; but not a single vestige of an ancient city appears. We had read, in our social devotions, with the most lively interest, the twenty-third chapter of Isaiah, and the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth chapters of Ezekiel; tracing—so far as we knew the different countries therein mentioned and the produce of each—the sources of Tyrian wealth and glory; especially the twenty-seventh chapter. What a minute, and varied, and splendid record of earthly prosperity, concentrated in this vast emporium! But, on this deserted shore, not one sight, not one sound remains, to bear witness to her former joyousness and pride! I have seen the ruins of Athens, and the innumerable memorials of Egyptian glory in Thebes. There, enough survives to lead the mind to expand with wonder, or to sadden with regret: but of Ancient Tyre, there just remains that utter NOTHING, which seems best suited to prepare the christian for imbibing the spirit of the prophetic language—*The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord God: Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god, I*

sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God. Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel: there is no secret that they can hide from thee: with thy wisdom and with thine understanding, thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: by thy great wisdom and by thy traffic, hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches: therefore thus saith the Lord God; Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God, behold, therefore I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations; and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness: they shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midst of the seas. Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God? but thou shalt be a man, and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee. Thou shalt die the deaths of the uncircumcised, by the hand of strangers: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God. Moreover, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyrus, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord God: Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty! Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God: every precious stone was thy covering; the sardius, topaz, and the diamond; the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper; the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee, in the day that thou wast created. Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God: thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire: thou wast perfect in thy ways, from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee: by the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned. Therefore I will cast thee, as profane, out of the mountain of God; and I will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire. Thine heart was lifted up, because of thy beauty: thou hast corrupted thy wisdom, by reason of thy brightness: I will cast thee to the ground: I will lay thee before kings, that they may behold thee. Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries, by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic: therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee; and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee. All they that know thee

among the people shall be astonished at thee: thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more: (Ezek. xxviii. 1—19.)

ANCIENT AND MODERN TYRE.

The inquisitive reader may see fully discussed, in Reland's *Palestine*, pp. 1049—1054, the different facts and arguments relative to Ancient and Modern Tyre. The result of the impression left on my mind, after having seen the spot, is this—that Ancient Tyre, which was situated about eight miles to the south of the present Peninsular Tyre, having been utterly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar B. C. 573, the prophecy of Ezekiel, xvi. 21, may be considered to have had its literal and complete accomplishment. That there might even then be some city in existence upon the peninsular spot now bearing the name of Tyre, at that time insular, may be inferred, not solely, perhaps not principally, from the various historical notices and illustrations given by Reland; but, most naturally, from the following simple considerations. It was impossible for Tyre ever to have been a great commercial power, without the harbor which adjoins the island: and it is not likely that this harbor should have been used, and the island not have been built upon. But, admitting that the island was then inhabited, still the insular town was not necessarily to be considered as identical with the old city, but merely an appendage of it. The wealthy men might live in Old Tyre, *all whose merchants were princes*; but the laboring mariner, and others of humble rank, would fix their dwelling upon Insular Tyre, near to the shipping. And it is this class of persons which is described as peculiarly in commotion and activity, on occasion of the success of Nebuchadnezzar's arms against the ancient parent city: *The suburbs—Insular Tyre, and the parts adjacent to it and to the sea-side—shall shake at the sound of the cry of thy pilots. And all that handle the oar, the mariners, and all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships: they shall stand upon the land; and shall cause their voice to be heard against thee, and shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads: they shall wallow themselves in the ashes; and they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth, and they shall weep for thee with bitterness of heart and bitter wailing: and, in their wailing, they shall take up a lamentation for*

thee, and lament over thee, saying, What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea? (Ezek. xxvii. 28—32.)

This view of the divisions of this once extensive city may serve also to reconcile the apparent contrariety in the words of Ezekiel and Isaiah. Ezekiel, having predicted the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, four times declares this destruction to be final: *Thou shalt be built no more:* chap. xxvi. 14—*Thou shalt be no more: thou shalt never be found again:* v. 21—*Thou never shalt be any more:* chap. xxvii. 36—*Never shalt thou be any more:* chap. xxviii. 19. But Isaiah, having also predicted the same event of the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, proceeds to declare that it SHALL BE RESTORED: chap. xxiii. 15—18. *It shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, &c.: but—after the end of seventy years, the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, &c.* The first part of Isaiah's prophecy, coinciding with that of Ezekiel, was accomplished, as has already been noticed, by the total destruction and razing to the ground of the ancient city by Nebuchadnezzar in the 32d year of his reign, B. C. 573. After full seventy years, B. C. 503, the second part of the prophecy of Isaiah became fulfilled, by the rebuilding of INSULAR NOT ANCIENT, Tyre, under Darius Hystaspes, in the 19th year of his reign.* We must, consequently, understand Isaiah, in his twenty-third chapter, to be speaking of two different cities, bearing successively the same name; the name of the parent city having been transferred to that which seventy years afterward sprung as it were from its ashes. The new city, built upon a contiguous site, was to revive the memory of the first: *Make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered:* (Isaiah xxiii. 16.)

The vicissitudes experienced by Tyre, subsequently to the events predicted by Isaiah and Ezekiel, are of a very interesting nature. The extensive line of aqueducts, yet seen here in ruins, was the work of Alexander. The siege of the Island by him, and the success of his astonishing project to join it to the main land, filling up a channel of about half a mile in width, took place B. C. 332; that is, 171 years after the latest circumstance noticed in prophecy, and accomplished under Darius Hystaspes: (Isaiah xxiii.

* See Pridcaux's *Connexion*, Vol. I. Part. I. Book 2. Anno 573; and Book 4. Anno 503.

15.) The commodiousness of this harbor was thus effectually impaired by the founder of Alexandria; and the commercial celebrity of Tyre gradually dwindled away.

There is something peculiarly sharp in the contrast drawn by Pliny; who, while he does homage to the nobility of Ancient Tyre, casts the scornful glance of a proud Roman at its vain and sole surviving distinction in his time. "Tyre," he observes, "was formerly illustrious for having given birth to colonies—for being the parent of Leptis, of Attica, and of that rival of the Roman Empire, grasping at the whole earth, Carthage—illustrious for the building of a city beyond the limits of our Roman world, Cadiz: now, all her nobility consists in her shell and purple dye!"*

In a far purer and sublimer strain, designed to humble, not to flatter, the evil passions of our nature, the inspired prophet declares the instructive design of this dispensation: **THE LORD HATH PURPOSED IT, TO STAIN THE PRIDE OF ALL GLORY!** Surely if there be on the face of the earth at this moment one nation pre-eminent above the rest "in ships, in colonies, in commerce, this is the spot from which the voice of the Judge of nations should be heard by her—warning her not to be lifted up with pride, or debased by luxury and selfishness; but to devote her merchandise as HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD—liberally embarking her wealth and powerful influence in every benevolent and religious enterprise. Gratitude demands it; and this will be her surest protection!

KHAN NAHOURA.

Having passed over the beautiful stream and meadows of Ras el Ain, we entered a more rocky road, and came to the foot of the line of mountains, ending in a promontory, called Capo Blanco, or the White Cliff; which forms a mid-way barrier betwixt Tyre and Acre. After ascending it a little way, we reached, just after sun set, a poor hovel, called Khan Nahoura; the owner of which, having several guests already arrived, made many difficulties about receiving us:

* The words of Pliny, giving at the same time, with great conciseness, the geographical bearings of this ancient city, are as follows:—

Tyrus, quondam Insula, præalto mari septingentis passibus divisa, nunc vero Alexandrioppugnantis operibus Continens: olim partu clara, urbibus genitis, Lepti, Utica, et illa Romani Imperii æmula, terrarum orbis avida, Carthagine; etiam Gadibus extra orbem conditis. Nunc omnis ejus nobilitas conchylio atque purpura constat. Circuitus xix. mill. passuum est, intra Palæstyro inclusa. Oppidum ipsum xxii. stadia obtinet. Inde Sarepta, et Ornithon oppida, et Sidon artifex vitri, &c. *Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 17.*

a little money, however, changed his heart toward us. Happily, just before our arrival, we were bailed by some fishermen on the water side—men, who probably at this day are unconsciously fulfilling the prophecy of Ezekiel, chap. xxvi. 5, 14—from whom we bought some excellent fish. With no other preparation than that of putting them whole into the burning embers, they furnished us with a very seasonable and refreshing supper.

FINE VIEW OF MOUNT CARMEL.

Saturday, Oct. 1, 1823—Very early before sun-rise, we set off from this poor Khan, designing to reach Acre before noon, which, at the slow rate that we travelled, would not be easy. Contrary to their usual custom the guides were as eager now to depart as ourselves: the reason was, that, as the Pacha dines at noon and retires immediately after to sleep, and no traveller is permitted to enter the gate of the city till his name and business are announced personally to the Pacha, he who should arrive between twelve and three o'clock incurs the risk of waiting all that time, be the weather, what it may, almost without shelter.*

The first hour of our journey we spent nearly in darkness—wanderers, as it seemed to me, among the mountains; both guides and animals, however, with instructive sagacity keeping the track. At length the pleasant light covered the sky; and, not long after, we arrived at the height which commands the ample plain of Acre. The elegant and lofty Minaret of the city appeared at a distance of seven or eight miles, directly before us: in the back ground, far off, twice as distant as the city, was a noble scene—Mount Carmel dipping its feet in the western sea; and to the east, running considerably inland; entirely locking up from our view the vale of Sharon, which lies to the south of it. In the horizon on the left, the sun was rising over the milder mountain scenery, which lies on the road to Nazareth.

Here, though already three days within the confines of Palestine, I first felt myself on holy ground. We were leaving *the glory of Lebanon*; and, before us, was *the excellency of Carmel*. As I descended the mountain and entered on the plain, I was often constrained to give utterance to

* On his return this way, the Author, with about thirty others, who gradually collected at the gate, had to wait in this manner nearly three hours, in the rain; a few of the party being miserably sheltered under the arch-way.

my feelings, in singing a favorite air, of which the words are *Emitte Spiritum tuum—et creabuntur—et renovabis faciem terræ!* It was the anniversary of my first landing in Malta: eight years have I now been on the Mediterranean Mission; and I can truly say, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped me, and preserved my going out and my coming in.* Then, I and my family were alone in the Mediterranean: since that time, more than twenty missionaries have entered on the field; of whom the greater part yet continue in it.

ACRE.

After a most pleasant ride, we reached the gate of the city; and, in about a quarter of an hour, our names having been carried to the palace, we were admitted, and took our way to the house of the English Vice Consul, Mr. Mac Michael: who hospitably entertained us four days.

In the evening, after various conversations on our objects and plans, we proposed to perform divine service, the next day, to such as could be brought together. The notice was inevitably short; but it was given out immediately.

Sunday, Nov. 2, 1823—This morning, in the consul's room, we held divine service, with a congregation of ten souls—as promiscuous an assembly as could well be expected within the compass of so small a number. The individuals who composed it were, a British consul—his Dragoman, a native of the country—a Maronite priest—a Roman physician—one Greek—one Jew—an English captain of a merchant vessel then in port—my servant, who is under French protection—an American brother-missionary—and myself, of the Church of England. Mr. Fisk conducted the prayers; and I afterward preached from 2 Cor. v. 17. *Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away: behold, all things are become new.* The whole service was in Italian. Toward the close of my sermon, quoting the verses following the text, I dwelt briefly on the importance of the right exercise of the christian ministry; pointing out, “THAT, TILL THE WORK OF PREACHING IS REVIVED, THERE IS NO HOPE THAT THESE COUNTRIES WILL BE RAISED FROM THEIR PRESENT DEGRADATION AND MISERY, AND THAT THIS IS MANIFESTLY THE CALLING AND OFFICE OF THE ORDAINED MINISTERS OF THE COUNTRY.”

This was particularly intended for the ear of the Maronite priest, Don Giuseppe; and it was well taken, I believe,

by him: he remained after the service, and conversed very affably. He bears a very respectable character; and has had a superior education to many, having spent several years in early life in study in the college at Rome. He appears now to be nearly fifty years old. He has under his pastoral care all the Maronite houses in Acre; but they are not numerous.

SCENE IN THE KHAN AT ACRE.

Monday, Nov. 3, 1823—Looking out of our window upon the large open Quadrangular court of the Khan, we behold very much such a scene as would illustrate the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments." In the centre, is a spacious fountain, or reservoir—the first care of every builder of great houses or cities in the East. On one side, is a row of camels, each tied by the slenderest cord to a long string; to which a small bell is appended, so that by the slightest motion they keep up one another's attention, and the attention also of all the inmates of the khan, that of weary travellers especially, by a constant jingle. On another side, horses and mules are waiting for orders; while asses breaking loose, biting one another, and throwing up their heels, give variety to the scene. Goats, geese, poultry, &c. are on free quarters. In the midst of all these sights and sounds, the groom, the muleteer, the merchant, the pedlar, the passers-by, and the by-standers, most of them wretchedly dressed, though in coats of many colors, all looking like idlers whatever they may have to do, contrive to make themselves audible; generally lifting up their voices to the pitch of high debate, and very often much higher.

Noise, indeed, at all times seems to be the proper element of the people of these countries: their throats are formed for it—their ears are used to it—neither the men nor the females, grown-up persons nor children, the rich nor the poor, seem to have any exclusive privilege in making it—and, what is very annoying to a Frank traveller, the party with whom he is treating, and who wishes most probably to impose on him, will turn round to make an appeal to all the by-standers, who are no less ready with one voice to strike in with their opinion on all matters that come before them.

The bustle has been increased this morning, by the departure of the wives of the governor of Jaffa. They set

off in two coaches, of a curious construction, common in this country: the body of the coach was raised on two parallel poles; somewhat similar to those used for sedan-chairs, only that in these the poles were attached to the lower part of the coach—throwing, consequently, the centre of gravity much higher; and apparently exposing the vehicle, with its veiled tenant, to an easy overthrow, or at the least to a very active jolt. Between the poles, strong mules were harnessed, one before and one behind; who, if they should prove capricious, or have very uneven and mountainous ground to pass, would render the situation of the ladies still more critical. But there is nothing to which use may not reconcile us; and they who can be brought to endure the trot of the camel, may consider themselves as franked for every other kind of conveyance.

The immense Khan, of which the consul's rooms form a small part, is inhabited by a great variety of families. It is three stories high; and in so dilapidated a state, that it seems to me to wait only for a gentle shock of an earthquake—no improbable event—to bring it all down. In one part reside the Roman-Catholic missionaries from Europe, under the "Terra Santa;" four or five in number, at present: but, of these establishments, the more I see, the less pleasant I feel it to make mention.

On Mount Carmel was a beautiful Latin convent, under French protection; but, a short time since, the Pacha of Acre razed it to the ground, under the plea of its being calculated to give advantage to the Greeks if they should land. The insult occasioned a rupture between the Pacha and the French consul; who not receiving satisfaction, struck his flag, and retired to Saide, where he is now living. The houseless friars came to Acre.

PROPHETICAL PICTURE OF THE HOLY LAND.

In the course of this day, we began to sell the Arabic Sacred Scriptures, with more success than we had experienced at Saide and Sour, which encouraged us to stop a little longer. I also wrote many letters; from one of which, as it expressed exactly the feelings which the state of these countries is calculated to excite, I make no apology for giving the following extract—

"I feel myself in this country so much affected with the two prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and I have so long

in this and all my former journeys felt them come to my very inmost soul, that I cannot but think that there would be a peculiar advantage in printing them, in Arabic, in Greek, and in Italian, for distribution, in a separate form, from the rest of the Old Testament. The prophecy of Jeremiah describes, with a minuteness of fidelity, surpassing all human power of description, the real state, both as to principles and facts, of the fallen christian churches; and, generally, of the whole population of these regions, at the present moment: while the prophecy of Isaiah portrays, under the most animating figures, chiefly drawn from the natural scenery of this very land, the glorious state to which the whole church of God will hereafter be exalted. I cannot but feel, that, were I a missionary constantly travelling in this country, I should wish to have these two prophecies in such a form, that I might continually make reference to them—as a manual, eminently *profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.*”

MOSQUE OF DJEZZAR, IN ACRE.

Tuesday, Nov. 4, 1823—This morning the consul and Mr. Fisk waited on the Pacha. I was much indisposed, and could not accompany them. They obtained written orders for our safe travelling to all parts of this pachalic; and, at the same time, a permission to pay a visit to the mosque, called Djazzar's, having been built by him in Acre. The chaus came to us an hour after; and, as I was somewhat better, I joined them in this visit.

On entering the precincts of the mosque, we were required to take off our outer shoes. We entered a beautiful court, the pavement of which was cold marble: fountains played their streams, and the trees waved their branches with a softness and coolness most congenial to religious thought; forming a perfect contrast to the noise, filthiness, and meanness of the streets which we had just left in our passage hither. Turks and Arabs, with most venerable silvery beards, were performing their ablutions, with such an air of sober enjoyment and religious nicety, as would inspire any one with the idea that they were transported with the luxury of cleanliness—a scene, this, well calculated to make the mind forget that there is, throughout all Turkey, more offensive filthiness than can be expressed. I can well conceive how a traveller, just introduced to this

spot, yielding for the moment to the partial impression and committing his feelings immediately to writing, would convey to his reader a most enchanting idea of the purity of Mohammedan ablutions. It is in this way, probably, that incorrect notions may have been sometimes formed in England, altogether too favorable to the living mass of Orientals. For the moment, it must be confessed, it is a most imposing spectacle: and, did we not know the abominations of the East, the lines of Thomson would carry the imagination far toward a good opinion of the morals inspired by these Mohammedan ceremonies—

E'en from the body's purity, the mind
Receives a secret, sympathetic aid.

On our right-hand as we entered the court, are two splendid monuments, beneath which repose the ashes of the last two Pachas—Suleyman; and his predecessor, the builder of this mosque, the ferocious Djezzar. His character is portrayed by Dr. Clarke, who was here during the lifetime of that Pacha. He has left among the inhabitants of Acre another, and a very different, monument of his administration. Even before we entered the gates, we met with persons, now aged, whose noses had been cut off by order of Djezzar; and, in the streets or in the shops, there are seen many such victims of his cruelty. It was a common method with him of punishing offences, or of enforcing his exactions.

His prime minister, Haiim, a Jew, had suffered from him, not only the loss of his nose, but of one of his eyes. This minister survived him, and conducted also the affairs of the government under his successor Suleyman. The present Pacha, Abdallah, has however put an end to his career, by ordering him to be killed: the manner of his death we did not exactly learn: some say that he was treacherously seized in the presence of the Pacha, and suddenly strangled, and his body then put into a sack and thrown into the sea. His family, with the vast wealth which he had accumulated, or more probably with only a part of it, removed to Damascus: and it is here reported, that, upon this circumstance, turns the persecution which the Jews are at this moment suffering in Damascus; the richest of them having been cast into prison, and a most exorbitant sum of money demanded of these people.

While revolving in the mind such deeds of guilt, and reflecting that we are in the very country and near the very

persons who have inflicted or suffered such inhumanities, the heart feels only pain at the view of this splendid tomb—beneath which, the body, indeed, at his moment lies buried in peace; but the spirit is separated, and gone to give its fearful *account of the things done in the body*.

We entered the mosque itself; and found several persons, with volumes of the Koran before them, studying. The building is not large; but very elegant, and handsomely carpeted. It has, on one side, a pulpit, with five or six marble steps leading up to it; from which the doctors address the people. It seems strange to contemplate the day—how far future, who can tell?—when some evangelist may here be permitted to stand, and proclaim, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God!* Yet that day will arrive—when the prayer of faith shall have prevailed with God. The dome above is surrounded by circular galleries; similar, though in merest miniature, to the whispering gallery at St. Paul's Cathedral. We went to the top of the dome, but were not permitted to ascend the Minaret, which is very lofty, lest the eyes "of the Faithful" should be scandalized.

On descending again from the mosque into the court, we walked through the cloisters which surround it. Here we remarked many small, convenient rooms; occupied, as we were told, partly by the servants of the mosque, and partly by visitors or pilgrims from various parts of Turkey. Two or three of these rooms contain the library. We looked through the wire-grating which covered the windows, and could perceive a large collection of books within, marked on the edges with their titles, in Arabic characters; but we were not allowed to go in.

The effects of the late siege are sufficiently visible in different parts of this building, the cannon-balls having fallen sometimes on a window and dashed it to pieces: at other times, a column of the cloisters has been fairly carried away, and its place has been temporarily supplied by a beam of timber: in other spots, the balls have either disfigured the walls by a bruise, or else gone clean through the more flimsy parts of the structure: nor has the Pacha as yet sufficiently recovered from the expenses of the war to make the requisite repairs. He is bestowing what money he can raise, to repair the damage which was done to the outer walls of the city.

The probable estimate given us of the population, was about five thousand souls: of which there may be Turks and Arabs, three thousand—Jews, eight hundred—Christians, twelve hundred. Of this number, about one thousand constitute the Pacha's court and troops. These, whenever he may move out of the city to visit any quarter of his Pachalic, would for the most part, move with him.

ABILENE.

Wednesday, Nov. 6, 1823—After much delay, occasioned by the mule-drivers, we set out for Nazareth. When we had gone about two miles from the city-gates, we met on the plain half a dozen Arabs, preceded by a sort of Zany (*one of the vain fellows*: 2 Sam. vi. 20.) fantastically dressed, with a wretched instrument of three strings, to which he sang, throwing himself from side to side of the path. As we approached, they all gathered round us, exclaiming "Adet, adet"—i. e. "Custom, custom." We were informed that they were celebrating the marriage of one of the party, whom they pointed out; and expected a present on the occasion. The bridegroom, with his face patched with gold leaf, had the most stupid air of all; though all looked very dull, and the whole office of mirth seemed to have been devolved upon the buffoon. They were not so dull, however, as to forget their usual pilfering vocation: for, leaving us to pass whom they perceived to be Franks, they thronged round our principal guide; and, having hustled him from the beast which he rode, held him a long time in conference, while we were going on; concluding by emptying his saddle-bags of that day's provisions.

On leaving the Plain of Acre, our guides, who had confidently assured us that they knew the way, began to waver. We, however, reached Abilene; and, perceiving still that there was reason to be dissatisfied with them, I rode up the hill on which the town is built to find a new guide, but did not succeed. I had, however, just an opportunity to observe the place. This is not the Abilene of Scripture: (Luke iii. 1.) It appeared to me to contain probably five hundred souls: the houses were of very mean construction, and the whole place looked like a heap of rubbish. It is on the summit of the hill: a ruined arch-way of stone, and some other marks of ancient buildings, denote its having formerly been a place of consequence, and perhaps of

strength. We observed, at the foot of the hill, a christian priest superintending the olive-gathering; from which it may be inferred, that there are here some christian inhabitants.

Our road then lay between low mountains covered with small trees: after which it opens on the western extremity of what appears to be the Plain of Galilee, or at least what runs into it.

SEPHOURY.

Crossing an angle of this plain to the right, we came to the ancient town of Sephoury; mentioned in Josephus, as being in his time a military station of consequence. On the summit of the hill on which it stands is a ruined tower; and, in the south side, we passed some ruined arches. The population—speaking from conjecture—may be rather more than that of Abilene, say six or seven hundred souls.

NAZARETH.

The sun was now fast declining: and, as we were well persuaded of the ignorance of our guides by the frequent questions which they asked on the road, we hastened on; and, at length, when it was nearly dark, having entered the streets of Nazareth, proceeded to the Latin convent; where we had an interview with the monks, who were all collected together in the room of the Superior. In this room is an order, fixed in a conspicuous place, directing that the pilgrims shall enjoy hospitable entertainment for three days; after which they are expected to move forward on their visit to the different scenes of devotion in this Holy Land. This direction did not, however, apply to us; it being designed for those who pay nothing. Having, therefore, entered the apartment allotted to us, we began to revolve in our minds how we might do some good in this place, and extend our excursion to the interesting spots in its neighborhood, before we should turn our faces toward Jerusalem.

There are many passages in the history of our divine Redeemer, which glance, with such simplicity and pathos, on the circumstances of His condescending and endearing intercourse with those whom He came to save, that it

would require a more than ordinary degree of moral insensibility, not to be touched with their beauty. Who can read St. Luke's account of them, when he was at the tender age of twelve years, and not be attracted toward Him by an irresistible affection? After He had been found by His disconsolate parents, and had gently reproved their misapprehension of His conduct, which to them had appeared undutiful, it is added—proving, that undutifulness was no part of his character—*And he went down with them and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man.* From my earliest childhood, I have learned to admire that passage: and, now that I am on the very spot to which it refers, it comes over my mind with a new freshness and delight. Here I am, resting, where my Redeemer, perfect God and perfect Man, deigned to pass His youth; and was even subject to those, of whom He, as God, was the Creator and Lord! Here, the devoted Mary, with a mother's fondness, and doubtless with a secret awe of His perfect wisdom, kept all his sayings in her heart. Few, very few of these His youthful expressions are recorded; the Evangelists relating, almost exclusively, the actions and discourses of His manhood and public ministry. But, here, those sayings were by Him uttered; and, here, by Mary, and possibly by a few others,* they would be treasured up as matter for affectionate and adoring meditation.

Thursday, Nov. 6, 1823—Rising very early—for the interesting scenes around greatly excite me, and often take sleep from my eyes—I went down into the court of the convent, and found the morning congregation already assembling at the chapel. By the faint light, I observed particularly some females, dressed in complete white, gliding along the court to attend the service. The occasional sound of the organ accompanying the voice of the choristers was very touching. I did not, however, enter: it seems to me, that, as christian missionaries, it becomes us to be reserved in our communications with a system of worship which cannot be considered as pure from idolatry.

*I venture to say, "few others." It might, perhaps, not unfairly be inferred, that our Saviour's youth was very retired, from the circumstance that Nathanael, who lived so near to Nazareth and was so eminent a saint, yet speaks as a man ignorant of the conversation of Christ, and as one who supposed himself to be personally unknown to our Lord. If he had heard of the extraordinary discourses of Him, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, he would scarcely have broken out into that exclamation, *Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?* And when associated familiarly by Jesus, he asks, *Whence knowest thou me?* Nazareth is distant from Cana only about five or six miles.

In the course of the morning, we visited the school of the convent. A native Roman Catholic is the master, and teaches the children Arabic. We counted forty scholars, but the master says that he has fifty. They were chiefly reading, or learning to repeat, the Arabic Psalter. This is the great school-book to all the native christians: yet it is in a style considerably elevated above the vernacular, modern language.

We entered the chapel, at an hour when there was no service. It is a fine large building; and remarkably well adapted for display, there being three separate floors, tastefully arranged. 1. There is an elevated platform of ample dimensions, on which stands the high altar; and from which the priests command a view of the congregation. 2. By a flight of steps on either side, you descend from this platform to the longest floor; which comprehends, in fact, three-fourths of the total area of the building, and reaches to the lower end of the chapel: here the congregation assembles. 3. From this floor, a broad flight of steps, between the two flights before mentioned, leads down to a small chapel and altar, directly beneath the platform of the high altar. Standing, therefore, in the middle of the principal floor, and looking toward the other two floors, the eye is caught, below, by the altar of the salutation—above, by the solemnities of high mass—and, higher still, by the organs in the galleries on the other side. The work is costly; and all around are large pictures in tapestry, exhibiting the different parts of evangelical history, especially those belonging to Nazareth. We descended the steps to the lower altar, and had a priest to explain the particulars of the place—such as the miraculous column, which still points out, it is said, where the angel Gabriel stood; the house (or cavern rather) behind the altar, in which the Blessed Virgin lived; the very spot where she lighted her fire to dress her food—and many such like things, to hear which excites one's pity.

In the afternoon, from the terrace of the convent, we had a very good view of the town. From repeated estimates of the number of houses, which rise like an amphitheatre up the slope of the hill on which modern Nazareth is built, I should judge that there are five hundred. This would, in this country, give a population certainly of as many as three thousand souls. One room is sometimes occupied by from five to ten persons: and one room of this sort fre-

quently constitutes a house; as has already been noticed in the account of Beirout and Tyre.

In the centre of the town, stands one mosque; the Minaret of which daily proclaims, that Jesus of Nazareth is not here the exclusive, or the dominant, master. In no place which I have hitherto visited, does that sight diffuse such a sensible melancholy over the scene.

The convent is surrounded by well-walled gardens, with a good variety of fruit-trees and vines. For want of money, however, the number of friars is small, and the cultivation of the gardens is rather neglected.

We commenced the sale of sacred scriptures to day. Mr. Fisk went out to reconnoitre the different bodies of Christians, while I remained at home, indisposed.

Friday, Nov. 7, 1823—The sale of the sacred scriptures continues with good success. Our servant is active in this work, as we found him to be also at Acre.

Saturday, Nov. 8—The distribution of Scriptures, which is our principal work at present as missionaries, continues; not, however, without much inquiry and some opposition.

The Greeks make no objection. Of the two Maronite priests, one bought a copy from us, and paid promptly for it; but, in two minutes, came to return it, and desired his money back, which we gave him. The Latins are the principal objectors; and, I have no doubt, the instigators of all the opposition that is made. We have, however, met their objections, one by one; and some even of their own people come to purchase.

One of the priests plainly said, that they saw through the design of the English in bringing these books into the country—that it was, to form an *ENGLISH PARTY*; adding, that the money thus spent might, with far better success, be given away by us, "*sotto mano*," as he expressed it: "*under-hand*," for the promotion of our design. An *ENGLISH PARTY*! What a grovelling idea! Oh that missionaries may ever rise, and may they raise others also, above such an unholy mingling of secular glory, or national or party interest, with holy things! True, we have often heard of the Bible Society as constituting the chief glory of our nation; and, in a certain sense, it is so. But what is the glory of a redeemed sinner?—Humility and love to his Redeemer. And what the best spirit of a christian nation?—The same; genuine humility, confessing that we are not worthy to present a hundred thousand talents as an offering for the service of

the Lord; and fervent love, persevering till it, makes that sum a million, and yet deems such a gift too low a measure of its affection.

It is, however, natural for men to judge others according to the standard of their own feelings; and, on this ground, it may very well be understood how agents of pontifical supremacy should impute party spirited motives to Missionaries of another creed. May God grant, that the spirit of the Bible may so prevail, as that all shall desire only the winning of souls to Christ!

The superior of the Convent having told our servant not to sell any more sacred scriptures: the youth acquainted us with this command: adding, that the Superior had said, that the books would all be burnt when we were gone, and that the Greeks troubled him on the subject. I replied, "Giuseppe, there have been men put into the fire; who, nevertheless, came out unharmed: and so it will be with the Scriptures: some may be burned; yet good will arise out of it, on the whole. We mean no disrespect to the Superior, under whose roof we are living; but this book, you know, is the master of us all." "Very true," he replied, "and all buy it." "Then," I said, "continue to sell, and fear nothing; for it is the will of God." He did so; and no evil came of it: so that he was much encouraged.

In the afternoon, I went with Mr. Fisk to visit the Greek Church. It is a little out of the town, to the north-east; a hundred steps or more beyond a well, to which the inhabitants of Nazareth go to draw water. In the Church is a separate oratory, in the centre of which is a deep hole, communicating with the stream of water which supplies the above mentioned well. The Greeks have their tradition, that the Virgin Mary was at this spot drawing water, when the angel Gabriel saluted her. They do not deny that the Latin Convent is built on the spot where her house stood; but they claim, for their part, the well of the salutation. These distinctions furnish, to ignorant minds, matter for high controversy; and serve, after men have differed from one another on weightier matters, to keep up those petty irritations, by which our great enemy prolongs among us the note of religious strife. The people were collecting together to attend the Vespers; and the priest encouraged them to buy our Arabic Scriptures: all of them speak Arabic, and some of them can read. We left a small supply for sale, during our absence of next week: these, we afterward found, were

sold. The Greeks are the most numerous body of christians in Nazareth, both by their own account and the admission of the others. They have three priests.

The Maronites here are few in number; not above twenty or thirty houses. They seem to be the outposts of Mount Lebanon; for we found no more of them after this place, further south. They have a church here; and two priests, brothers, from Ain el Warka. They asked for Syriac Scriptures; which, on a subsequent occasion, I was enabled to send them.

The Latin Convent, occupied by Franciscan Friars, is by far the most conspicuous and commodious building in Nazareth. It is entirely of stone, and very substantial; and is surrounded by high walls. Adjoining it, but on the opposite side of the road, is another house of stone, belonging to the "Terra Santa;" occupied, at present, by the family of the Austrian Vice-Consul, Seignior Catafago, whom, we left at Acre. This convent consists of an old and a new part. The old is not used at present, in consequence of the fewness of the residents. The new part was built between sixty and seventy years ago; and consists of about twenty-three rooms, on each side of three long corridors, forming

this figure  but, together with the old part, there must

be at least fifty habitable rooms in the establishment, besides out offices. The mode in which the chambers are built may be understood by describing ours: it is square; the walls of massive thickness, so as to support its own roof, which is concave, and built of stone, without any wood. The corridors are arched. Thus, when walking on the top of the roof, there are as many convex sections of a globe upon its surface, as there are chambers. This is a mode of building much more ornamental than the flat roofs of Malta, which from their sameness weary the eye: these, on the contrary, are somewhat picturesque at a distance, having the appearance of many small domes. The tenants of this splendid establishment are, at present, only eight or nine, of whom five or six are priests: four are Spanish; the rest are Neapolitans and Italians. Excepting the Curate, who, as confessor, is under the necessity of speaking a little Arabic, the rest are ignorant of that language; and some of them seemed quite to laugh at the idea of knowing it. Of course, they do not preach: but Latin services of various kinds are almost constantly, day and night, performing in

their splendid Church. How often, when taking my evening walk upon the terrace, has the reflection forced itself upon me—"This is a grand experiment, and it has failed!" Two things have cost the Latins dear in this land—buildings and firmans: the prime cost of the building of this convent must have been immense; and, when once settled in their various stations, the Friars are still under the necessity of drawing out from their purses continually large sums of money, to satisfy the rapacity of the Turks, and purchase—what, it appears, could be had only by purchase—civil protection. And in what has it ended? Is Jesus of Nazareth worshipped more extensively in these countries, than he was before the Roman Catholic missions were sent hither? Has Mohammedanism yielded one jot or tittle to their influence? In reading the *Lettres Edifiées et Curieuses*, nothing is more surprising, than to perceive how little the Jesuits have to say of their success in this respect: as little have the other orders to say: and, at the present moment, they scarcely pretend to have any thing to do with the conversion of the Mussulmans: they regard themselves as sent out principally to hold together the Romish interest in the east; so that, after so large an expense, it may be asserted, as the author has elsewhere* expressed it, that

* Anniversary sermon before the society: 1831: p. 34; where the following reasons are stated. "We will point out two circumstances, which mainly contributed to prevent the success of the Romish missions in Mohammedan countries; and which will at the same time explain the ground of our fairer hopes.—The first error was, that they never gave the Scriptures freely to the people: they did, indeed, translate the Scriptures into the universal language of Mohammedanism—Arabic: in this they have been wroth and drawn water for those who may follow them; but this work was intended for the use of their missionary clergy, not for general distribution. The copies of this book are now somewhat rare in the East: they are not in the hands of Mohammedans, but in the libraries of christian monasteries; and, in these monasteries, I have found Romish missionaries, who have spent several years in Syria and Egypt, and yet cannot read the Arabic Bible. This folly of casting away the sword—or rather of fastening in its scabbard the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God—will not be ours. As Protestant missionaries of the Church of England, we find ourselves necessarily and most beneficially connected with that institution, which all nations will one day call, the Blessed: we willingly labor for the Bible Society; and, in return, that society liberally supplies us with the Scriptures.—Another impediment to the Romish missions in Mohammedan countries, arose from their unceasing spirit of contention with the native christian churches: they entered the East, professing amity, but claiming subjection to the papal supremacy; and those, whom they should have secured as allies, they converted into enemies: furnishing thus all national title to success; and too often, in fact, presenting to Mohammedans a spectacle of derision; and to genuine christians an object of grief, indignation, and shame. We shall not thus address our brethren of the eastern churches: we were not the first to embrace and pay homage to the christian revelation: to them, we owe the rudiments of our christian education: we caught the living coal from their altars. When, therefore, the missionary zeal shall have been poured out in large measure, by the Holy Spirit of God, on our national church, their prelates and clergy will be hailed by ours: their friendship will be cultivated, that we may all unite in helping the Cresset by the Cross; in building up a spiritual Jerusalem; and in elevating the wretched posterity of Ham to a participation in the evangelical blessings of the descendants of Shem and Japheth. Such are our plans, and, laboring in faith and prayer, we cannot doubt of full success, in the appointed season."

"the Romish Missions have left to us the Mohammedan world, unbroken and entire."

Sunday, Nov. 9, 1823—We had divine service with our servant, and preached in Italian. In the evening, we had brotherly conversation and prayer. Our subject was the christian's *first love* (Rev. ii. 4.)

REMARKS ON THE SITE OF NAZARETH, ILLUSTRATIVE OF LUKE
iv. 29, AND JOHN i. 46.

The following morning we took our departure for Tiberias; but, before quitting the account of Nazareth, the Author will add two observations, relative to its situation, which may tend to throw some light on passages of Scripture. Nazareth is situated on the side, and extends nearly to the foot of a hill, which, though not very high, is rather steep and overhanging. The eye naturally wanders over its summit, in quest of some point from which it might probably be that the men of this place endeavored to cast our Saviour down (Luke iv. 29): but in vain: no rock adapted to such an object appears. At the foot of the hill is a modest simple plain, surrounded by low hills, reaching in length nearly a mile; in breadth, near the city, a hundred and fifty yards; but, further on, about four hundred yards. On this plain there are a few olive-trees, and fig-trees, sufficient, or rather scarcely sufficient, to make the spot picturesque. Then follows a ravine, which gradually grows deeper and narrower; till, after walking about another mile, you find yourself in an immense chasm with steep rocks on either side, from whence you behold, as it were beneath your feet, and before you, the noble plain of Esdraelon. Nothing can be finer than the apparently-immeasurable prospect of this plain, bounded to the south by the mountains of Samaria. The elevation of the hills on which the spectator stands in this ravine is very great; and the whole scene, when we saw it, was clothed in the most rich mountain-blue color that can be conceived. At this spot, on the right hand of the ravine, is shewn the rock to which the men of Nazareth are supposed to have conducted our Lord, for the purpose of throwing him down. With the Testament in our hands, we endeavored to examine the probabilities of the spot; and I confess there is nothing in it which excites a scruple of incredulity in my mind. The rock here is perpendicular for about fifty feet, down which space it would be

easy to hurl a person who should be unawares brought to the summit; and his perishing would be a very certain consequence. That the spot might be at a considerable distance from the city, is an idea not inconsistent with St. Luke's account; for the expression, *thrusting Jesus out of the city, and leading him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built*, gives fair scope for imagining, that, in their rage and debate, the Nazarenes might, without originally intending his murder, press upon him for a considerable distance after they had quitted the synagogue. The distance, as already noticed, from modern Nazareth to this spot is scarcely two miles—a space, which, in the fury of persecution, might soon be passed over. Or should this appear too considerable, it is by no means certain but that Nazareth may at that time have extended through the principal part of the plain, which I have described as lying before the modern town: in this case, the distance passed over might not exceed a mile. It remains only to note the expression—the *brow of the hill, on which their city was built*: this, according to the modern aspect of the spot, would seem to be the hill north of the town, on the lower slope of which the town is built: but I apprehend the word *hill* to have in this, as it has in very many other passages of Scripture, a much larger sense; denoting sometimes a range of mountains, and in some instances a whole mountainous district. In all these cases the singular word "*hill*," "*gebel*," is used, according to the idiom of the language of this country. Thus, *Gebel Carmyl*, or Mount Carmel, is a range of mountains: *Gebel Libnan*, or Mount Lebanon, is a mountainous district of more than fifty miles in length; *Gebel ez-Zeitun*, the Mount of Olives, is certainly, as will be hereafter noted, a considerable tract of mountainous country. And thus any person, coming from Jerusalem and entering on the Plain of Esdraelon, would, if asking the name of that bold line of mountains which bounds the north side of the plain, be informed that it was *Gebel Nasra*, the hill of Nazareth; though, in English, we should call them the Mountains of Nazareth. Now the spot shewn as illustrating Luke iv, 29, is, in fact, on the very brow of this lofty ridge of mountains; in comparison of which, the hill upon which the modern town is built is but a gentle eminence. I can see, therefore, no reason for thinking otherwise, than that this may be the real scene where our Divine Prophet,

Jesus, experienced so great a dishonor from the men of his own country and of his own kindred.

Another passage relative to this place, namely, the question of Nathanael (John i. 46)—*Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?*—which seems to have been almost proverbial, is not, to my mind, well accounted for by any Expositor that I have seen. Some have attributed the phrase to that scorn, with which Galilee was viewed by the Jews; who held that *out of Galilee ariseth no prophet* (John vii. 52:) but Nathanael, himself a Galilean, being of Cana, was not likely to have quoted this reproach: nor does there seem any propriety, even if he admitted and quoted the reproach, in the idea of his fixing it upon another contiguous town of his own district. Others refer to the base conduct of the men of Nazareth toward our Lord, as sufficiently proving that it must have been a place of very vile character. Still the question remains, Whence should Nazareth acquire this bad repute with its neighbors; and that to so high a degree, as to merit the severe question of Nathanael? Perhaps there may have been circumstances, to us unknown, in its history, the knowledge of which would at once clear up the point.* In the absence of such information, it has occurred to me as no unlikely conjecture, that the very position of this town might, in some measure, account for its ill character. It was a kind of frontier-town. It was frontier in three directions—toward Samaria to the south; a region notorious for iniquity, and frequent revolts—toward the land of the Philistines on the south-west—and, on the west, toward the maritime city, peopled by heathens, Acre. Between these three regions and Nazareth, there is little more than the broad sweep of the Plains of Esdraelon and Acre. These plains lie more or less at the feet of the mountains of Nazareth; although the Plain of Acre does not so nearly approach them, as the Plain of Esdraelon.

In the rear of Nazareth, northward and eastward, are the peaceful towns and plains of Galilee. Now in addition

* Whithy, in his Notes on Matthew ii. 23, illustrating also John i. 46, quotes from Buxtorff and Abazbinel, that "there was among the Jews a celebrated thief, called Ben Nezer; and, in allusion to him, they gave this name to Christ. So Abazbinel saith: 'The little horn mentioned Daniel vii. 8, is Ben Nezer, that is, Jesus of Nazareth.' And this title of Nazarean, both the Jews and the enemies of Christianity gave always, by way of contempt, to our Jesus." This single fact of one notorious thief, named from Nazareth, does not seem sufficient to have, alone, established the bad character of the town. It is observable, however, that it accords with the view taken by the Author of the probable manner in which Nazareth obtained its pre-eminence in infamy. This celebrated thief was, no doubt, one among many of that character.

to the bad character of the Samaritans, the inhabitants of all the sea-coast were notoriously flagitious. They were left, as we are expressly told (Judges iii. 1—6,) to prove the Israelites, and that the generations of the children of Israel might learn war. An evil neighborhood this for Nazareth! The men of Nazareth might, in such a vicinity, easily be ensnared into heathenish affinity. (Judges iii. 6.) Their worst characters, fleeing from justice or revenge, would easily find the nearest asylum, at a distance of from twenty to thirty miles, in Nazareth. In every quarrel or war, between Galilee on the one side, and, on the other side, either Samaria or the Philistines and the inhabitants of the coast, Nazareth would stand the foremost. In commerce with the maritime towns, Nazareth would lie constantly exposed to the temptations to break the Sabbath, mentioned in Nehemiah xiii. 16. Thus, by degrees, might this frontier-town become a nest of the very worst characters, and addicted to the worst sins; and its condition would probably be the more notorious, from the contrast which it would form to the better protected and more peaceable inhabitants of the interior of Galilee.*

TIBERIAS.

Monday, Nov. 10, 1823—Set off for Tiberias. On the way, at about two-hours-and-a-half from Nazareth, we stopped at Khan-es-Sook, or the "Khan of the Fair," situated not far from the foot of Mount Tabor. Here are two or three nearly-ruined khans.† The place derives its name from the circumstance of a fair being held here every Monday. We estimated that about a thousand souls were present; and there was much cattle. A caravan from Damascus arrived, and passed on. We had aimed at this spot in our journey, with a view to selling Arabic Scriptures; but could not succeed: the men of Nazareth were the prin-

* The Author feels, that, in hazarding these and other conjectural illustrations of Scripture, he has need to bespeak the indulgence of every critical reader. At the same time, he ventures to recommend to all future Visitants of the Holy Land, to bestow an exclusive and diligent attention on every scene and circumstance, which may aid this interesting branch of Biblical elucidation. A double reward will attend on this temper of mind: while the truth of the Scripture-Records will become more fully demonstrated, the devout spirit will often melt with tenderness at the various intimate memorials of our Lord's condescending love; *who though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor*—who, in every circumstance, even in that of the town where He dwelt, and which now gives its name, in this country, to His followers, voluntarily made himself of no reputation.

† I have been since informed, by a Maltese priest who has visited this spot, that these ruins were formerly Castles belonging to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at the time when they possessed Acre.

cial merchants in the fair, and had already seen them in Nazareth.

At length, about the sultry hour of three o'clock, we arrived at the summit of the mountain, which commands a view of Tiberias; and of the Lake, called variously in Scripture, *the Sea of Tiberias*, *the Sea of Galilee* and *the Lake of Gennesaret*; known also by the name of *Cinneroth*. The town of Tiberias is surrounded with walls and towers, such as to form a very imposing scene at first view. On nearer observation, however, their insignificance is apparent: a few cannon would put them down in an instant; though, to an assault from the natives, they would present, probably, a very long and effectual resistance. The town itself has many parts in a very ruinous and filthy condition. Making allowance for much space which is vacant, we judged the population might be one thousand souls: but, considering that a large portion is peopled by Jews, who crowd together in a very little space, possibly the number may be greater. We remarked two Minarets. As we approached the gate of the city, we were met by two Polish Jews, whose costume and extremely filthy garb announced to us that we were entering upon Hebrew scenes.

We rode at once, as we had been recommended to do, to the house of Seignior Rafaele Piciotto, an aged Jewish gentleman, who formerly held the office of Austrian consul at Aleppo; and, being succeeded by his son, has retired hither to pass the remainder of his days peacefully, on ground considered by the Jews as holy. We had every reason to be grateful to him for his civil attentions to us. We were accommodated with a clean upper room, and entertained hospitably at his table.

Toward evening, we witnessed the scene of his whole household performing prayers. About thirty persons came at this hour into the court, and united in repeating the service; in conducting which, Rabbi Samuel, who has married his step-daughter, was the chief leader. It was very affecting, at one part, to view them, turning their faces toward Jerusalem—bowing, and lifting up their voices in fervent petitions. It reminded us of Daniel's supplications when in Babylon; who had his windows open toward Jerusalem, and kneeled upon his knees three times a day and prayed: (Daniel vi. 10.) After sunset the table was prepared, and we sat down to a plentiful supper; at which it gratified us to see females joining the circle—a sight banished from Turk-

ish and christian houses in this country; but not from Jewish. These were, the consul's wife and step-daughter. The consul himself professes to know very little of his countrymen in this place. His son-in-law, however, is more communicative. The Mohammedans in this place are more numerous, he says, than the Jews: but when it comes to the question of actual numbers, you will rarely find two men agreeing in their account. Rabbi Samuel stated the Sephartin, or Spanish Jews, at seventy or eighty houses—say four hundred souls; and the Ashkenasim, or Polish Jews, at a hundred and fifty houses—say seven hundred and fifty souls; but another said that the Sephartin were ninety houses, and the Ashkenasim ninety-six. Rabbi Samuel also says that there are no Jews here of the sect of the Perushim, but that all are Hassidim.

Tuesday, Nov. 11, 1823—Having a fever upon me, I was unable to move far to-day; and therefore limited my excursion to the baths of Tiberias, while Mr. Fisk rode to the south of the lake, where the river Jordan issues from it. The baths of Tiberias, so much celebrated by many authors, are just a mile south of the town, and about fifty feet from the margin of the lake. On the way thither we passed the Jewish burying-ground.

On every side, small ruins of walls, columns, and foundations indicate the former extent of Tiberias. The stone of these ruins is very black, so that there is nothing about them of the splendor of antiquity; nothing but an air of mourning and desolation: in this circumstance they differ so widely from the magnificent antiquities of Egypt and Greece, as to leave the most sombre impression on the fancy: they are perfectly funereal. Yet, even here, imperial splendor was once exhibited in the reign of Tiberias; and, three hundred years after, Jewish literature flourished in this spot, and some of the most learned Hebrew commentators on Sacred Scripture formed a kind of university in this city.

The earth all around the baths is bubbling up with streamlets of water, emitting a most powerful sulphureous smell. We placed the thermometer in different spots where the water gushes out; and found it rise to the various heights of 131, 132, 138, 139, of Fahrenheit. In the bath, where, from standing some time, it cools, its temperature was 110. An humble building is erected over the bath, containing mean apartments on one side for men, on the other for women; and many persons come from far, to be healed of their dis-

eases in these waters. On our arrival, we found a moving assemblage of persons, in number about ten at a time: we immediately had an open window-seat cleared for our use, where we rested for a few minutes to take some refreshment. Mr. Fisk then set off with the principal guide, to see the junction of the lake with the River Jordan.

After spending some time in writing till my mind was weary, I left the bath, and sauntered two or three hundred paces to seek a little shade by the side of a small fragment of ruins. The other guide, knowing that I was indisposed, seemed to think it his duty to follow me step by step: he then sat down, much more quietly and respectfully than people of this country are often apt to do. I must, however, say, that although noise and rudeness are their general characteristics; yet there is, occasionally, in their way of treating strangers, a considerateness, which almost amounts to politeness.

The composure which came over my feverish spirits at this hour was inexpressibly refreshing. I laid myself down upon the ground; and resting my head upon a stone near me, drew a little coolness from the soil: while the simple train of reflections, which naturally sprung up from the scene around me, added much to my enjoyment. At a great distance to the north, was the mountainous horizon, on the summit of which stands Safet, glistening with its noble castle: it is not improbably supposed that our Saviour had this spot in His eye, and directed the attention of His disciples to it, when He said *A city, that is set on a hill, cannot be hid*: for it is full in view from the Mount of the Beatitudes, as well as from this place; and, indeed, seems to command all the country round to a great extent. Tracing, at a glance, the margin of this simple lake, on the opposite or eastern side, the eye rests on the inhospitable country of the Gadarenes—inhabitable to this day; for my guide, after long silence, perceiving my attention directed that way, begins a long tale about the dangers of that part, the untamed and savage character of the mountaineers, and the extreme hazard of attempts to visit them: few travellers, in fact, venture there: but, seeing that his account is not very congenial to my feelings at this moment, he has dropped his story. Close above my head, an Arab is come to spread upon the ruins his tattered clothes, which he has just washed in the lake, that they may dry in the sun: and, at a distance just perceivable, is another indolent peasant,

sauntering by the water's edge, and singing at intervals a poor Arab song; which, though not "most musical," has nevertheless the charm of being "most melancholy." But that which awakens the tenderest emotions on viewing such a scene as this, is the remembrance of ONE, who formerly so often passed this way; and never passed without leaving, by His words and actions, some memorial of His divine wisdom and love. Here, or in this neighborhood, most of His mighty works were done: and, in our daily religious services, we have read, with the most intense interest, those passages of the Gospel which refer to these regions. However uncertain other traditional geographical notices may be, here no doubt interrupts our enjoyment, in tracing the Redeemer's footsteps. This, and no other, is the sea of Galilee—in its dimensions, as I should judge, resembling exactly the size of the isle of Malta, about twenty miles in length, twelve in breadth, and sixty in circumference. Here Jesus called the sons of Zebedee, from mending their nets, to become *fishers of men*. Here he preached to the multitudes crowding to the water's edge, himself putting off a little from the shore in Simon Peter's boat. But there is not a single boat now upon the lake, to remind us of its former use. Yonder, on the right, must have been the very spot, where, in the middle of their passage from this side toward Bethsaida and Capernaum, the disciples were affrighted at seeing Jesus walk upon the water—where He gently upbraided the sinking faith of Peter—where he said to the winds and waves; *Peace! be still*; and the sweet serenity which now rests upon the surface is the very same stillness, which then succeeded. Here, finally, it was that Jesus appeared, the third time after His resurrection, to His disciples, as is related by St. John (chap. xxi); and put that question to the zealous, backslidden, but repentant Peter—*Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?*—one question, thrice repeated; plainly denoting what the Saviour requires of all, who profess to be His: and followed up by that solemn charge, *Feed my lambs—Feed my sheep!* While I gaze on the scene, and muse on the affecting records connected with it, faith in the Gospel-history seems almost realised to sight: and, though I cannot comprehend that *great mystery of Godliness—God manifest in the flesh*; yet, believing it, all my feelings of wonder and adoration are called into a more intimate exercise.

I was thus indulging in holy recollections, and expecting to prolong them fully another hour, my spirits being greatly relieved by the stillness and coolness of this short retirement; when the guide, who reclined near me all the time, signified, by the motion of his hand, that our companions were in view. I turned to look, and was pleased to find it so. They presently joined us, having ridden quick to their destination, and immediately returned. Though my meditations had been sweet, yet the sight of a friend and a brother, even after so short an absence, was to my weak spirits very animating; and we immediately talked over, with much vivacity and cheerfulness, all that we had seen and felt.

We staid some time longer at the Bath; and then, returning to Tiberias, sought out the christian priest. He has under him from thirty to forty houses; and his church, which we visited, is by them supposed to be built on the site of St. Peter's house. They are Greek Catholics, and under the "Terra Santa." We furnished the priest with some sacred Scriptures; but there was little zeal in him to receive them.

At the house of the Consul, we produced to the Jews the Hebrew New Testament; but neither was this very acceptable to them. I was especially struck to see the readiness with which one youth shewed to another, at once, the twentieth verse of the first chapter of St. Matthew: he quickly found the passage, as one who had been early instructed to deny the Messiah: they were in our room: he read the passage with an air of scorn, made his companion understand his meaning, and then threw the book down; on which they both departed. It seemed to me no inapt illustration of the crime charged on the consciences of the Jewish people by Stephen (Acts vii. 51)—*Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye.* Their will is, to have a man for their Messiah, not a divine person. Truly, indeed, has St. Paul said (1 Cor. xii. 3)—*No man, speaking by the Spirit of God, calleth Jesus accursed; and no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.*

We feel ourselves greatly at a loss, in talking to these misguided people. At supper, we sat down with them, surrounded by Italian, Spanish, German, Hebrew, Rabbinical, and Arab tongues. Of these, the Italian was talked only by the aged Consul; who is almost deaf, and apparently quite indifferent to religious topics. Evidently, a missionary to

the Jews should have, not only a very peculiar line of education, but he must give himself almost wholly to them.

Wednesday, Nov. 12, 1823—After a very feverish and wakeful night, I was quite unable to ride to the ruins of Capernaum: while Mr. Fisk did this, I staid within doors the whole morning. He brings back a very meagre account, indeed, of the remains of that city; once *exalted unto heaven*, but now barely leaving a relique sufficient to attest its former existence. He found Bethsaida, also, existing in little more than the name.

In the afternoon, we visited the Synagogues of Tiberias, and found them to be as follows:—

The first which we visited was about fifty feet square, and belonged to the Sephartim: very few persons were in it, at the time of our visit. Close by its side is another, which is long, but very narrow: we went from the one direct to the other; and found this second one quite full, so that we had some difficulty in walking through it: the polish fur cap distinguishes these Jews from the Spanish. The third Synagogue, to which we were taken, was called a college; and is used also as a Synagogue: behind it was a very small room, appropriated to the use of the women, having its entrance from a different street: above the college, the upper floor consisted of two rooms, in which we counted (by calculation) fifteen hundred Hebrew books: those who conducted us, said that they had a great many in boxes; as many, in all, as ten thousand. These three were all the Synagogues shewn to us. I should add, however, the domestic Synagogue of the Consul: in this, I calculated about a thousand volumes.

In the Synagogue of the Consul, his son-in-law, Rabbi Samuel, was teaching two youths of the family. The rapid and vehement manner, in which he communicated and they received his instruction, was very striking. All spoke at the same time, with a high pitch of voice; scarcely allowing space to catch their breath; with distortions of countenance, and flashes of the eye almost hysterical. It seemed to me, that, for the purpose of teaching absurd and false notions, this manner was very well adapted; as it gave no time for thinking on what was learning: and we know very well, that when persons have once, with much pains and self-sacrifice, learnt a great deal of trash, they rarely extricate their minds from its injurious influence. They seem, in fact, to lose the power of estimating the utility or inutili-

ty of different kinds of knowledge; and value their own literary hoard, not because it is practically useful, but because it has been dearly paid for, and because they possess a sort of property in it.

The Sephartim speak Spanish: the Ashkenasim speak German, Polish, and Russian. All intermingle a kind of Rabbinical jargon. Hebrew, Rabbinical Hebrew, and Arabic are, in various degrees, spoken by them. From these data, a Missionary to the Jews may perceive what acquirements are expedient for his work. At the fewest, three languages appear to be essential—Spanish, German, and Hebrew; while, for a frequent traveller or stated resident in this country, Arabic is indispensable.

We were very much struck with the remarks of the Consul, in the evening, on the subject of European protection. When he quitted his office at Aleppo, he procured a Firman from the Porte, given him the strongest protection for himself and all his dependants. "I wish," said he, kindling with a degree of animation, which proved that the feebleness of age had not extinguished the love of life, "I wish you could read Turkish, that I might shew you my Firman; it is so strong; it cuts like a sword." We could not but feel compassion for the man, who, living in this land of wrongs, clings to such a document as his sole security against extortions, oppression, insults, and violence; which would, otherwise, be heaped upon him by every Turkish superior, wherever he might be. They, who breathe the air of liberty, and walk erect in open day, and at night retire to a home, which, however humble its dimensions, yet the common parlance of their country denominates their CASTLE—such persons can ill comprehend, how or why it is, that, in Turkey, the sole guarantee against the most unmerited imprisonments and exactions, is a piece of parchment sealed with the signet of the grand Seignior. Yet thus it is.

SAFET.

Thursday, Nov. 13, 1823—This morning we set off for Safet—the city set on a hill. Our road, for an hour, lay along the margin of the lake. To the north of Tiberias, there are likewise some ruins; which shew the city anciently to have extended beyond its present bounds, northward as well as southward.

At length, having taken the last draught of water, which we were to taste for some hours, at a small streamlet which winds its way into the lake, we entered on a continued series of hills leading to Safet. As we ascended hill after hill, we had the scene of the lake fully beneath our view; its southern half occasionally obscured by black clouds, discharging tremendously heavy rain. We feared lest our excursion should be spoiled, as one minute's fall of such a storm would not have left us a dry thread; happily, however, it did not reach us.

Our journey from Tiberias to Safet was all on the ascent. When we were in the middle of it, a keen north wind met us full in the face; "a nipping, and an eager air," inspiring the lungs with new vigor, and making me for the time quite forget my late fever.

On reaching Safet, our guide, who is brother to the Lay Superior of the Latins at Nazareth, and a native, manifested the greatest repugnance to entering the quarter of the Jews: but as we had our object, we took our course thither; leaving him to find a place of rest elsewhere. After much delay, and many inquiries on both sides of the streets, we reached the house of Rabbi Israel, one of the Perushim, and chief of that sect in this place. He himself was gone to Jerusalem: but his wife and son, and Baruch the Shemas or Deacon, welcomed us, and gave us the best room in their house: it was, however, very wretched and cold.

In the evening, some of the Jews called upon us. One of them complained, most bitterly, of the treatment which he had received at the last festival of Succoth: he had brought it, indeed, on himself; having gone to some excess in wine: a Mohammedan laid to his charge the crime of blaspheming the Mohammedan religion; and, without further witness or investigation, the governor ordered him for punishment; when he suffered, or, (to use his own expressions, literally translated,) he ate five hundred stripes of the bastinado: "*Ho mangiato cinque cento bastonate.*" Another, more quiet, reminded him, that *a soft tongue breaketh the bone*; and that it was his own loquacity, which had brought him into mischief, and might do so again: but the injured man loudly maintained his right to have redress as a Russian subject; and asked us, how his right might be maintained: he has however, very little chance of this; the agent for Russian subjects being an Austrian Vice-Consul at Acre. They

all complain of the severity to which they are liable from the ruling powers.

The number of Jewish families at this place, they stated at four hundred; of which the Ashkenasim and Sephartim are in about equal numbers; that is, two hundred families of each. Since the war in Turkey, few venture to come from Poland, so that the Hebrew population is rather on the decrease. They said there were sixteen synagogues in the place: but they are so contradictory in their accounts, that this, the highest account which they give, I suspect to be exaggerated.

We produced the Hebrew Testament, with which they seemed to be already acquainted, but for which they manifested little good inclination.

In the room which we occupied we counted five hundred books, all Hebrew; the library of Rabbi Samuel.

Friday, Nov. 14, 1823—After a night of piercing cold, we rose to make some further examination of the state of the town: but as we had to depart at noon, and dine previously, our remarks were very rapid.

We called on a christian, who was in a miserable shop, and asked about their numbers in this place. There are a few, a very few christians here; not strictly resident, but rather refugees from Acre, Sour, and Saide. They are Greeks; and they move about from place to place, exercising different trades to gain a little money. Their number had been stated to us, by the Jews, at thirty or forty; but we afterward were induced, from what we saw, to think that the tenth part of that number might be nearer the truth. We sold and gave them two or three Arabic Psalters; to which, however, we found it difficult to induce them to pay much attention.

This is market-day; and we computed about five hundred persons, of different descriptions, stirring in the market.

We next ascended the castle-hill; and here, whatever disgust we had conceived from the narrowness and dirtiness of the streets and houses of Safet, all was obliterated, by the magnificent prospect from this spot. Although the castle is in ruins, yet part of it still affords a residence to the governor: the extent of the walls, the perfect condition of some parts of them, and the high glittering towers visible to all the region round about, shew that this must have been a spot often contested in war. But that, which prin-

cipally fills the mind, is a scene, which no puny powers of man can either create or demolish. The view to the south and on either side, comprehending about one-third of the circle, presents the most surprising assemblage of mountains which can be conceived. It is, if such an expression may be allowed, one vast plain of hills. To a distance of twenty or thirty miles toward Nazareth, and nearly the same toward Mount Tabor and Mount Hermon, the far-spreading country beneath is covered with ranges of mountains: which, having passed over them, we knew to be ascents and descents far from inconsiderable; but which, from the eminence of Safet, appear only as bold undulations of the surface of the earth. To the left, are the inhospitable and unvisited mountains eastward of the river Jordan. In the centre of the distant scene, appears the beautiful lake of Tiberias, fully seen from one extremity to the other; and, in the back-ground, stretching beyond the utmost power of vision, are the Mountains of Gilead. On a clear day the view, in that direction, must be more than forty miles.

We descended from this elevated spot, to pay a visit of ceremony to the governor. Thence we returned to the Jewish quarter, to examine as many of the synagogues as our time would allow. Of these, we visited five. Of the Hassidim, one synagogue; and one Maddras, or College: for, with this title, do they dignify a room, which will scarcely contain twenty persons, and which is filthy beyond expression; but, certainly, a few appeared here to be in the very act of poring over Talmudical books. For the Perushim, there is one place, which is used both as synagogue and Maddras; and one other place, which has at least some pretensions to its title of Maddras, as it contains a thousand Hebrew volumes. Lastly, one synagogue of the Sepharitim: this was by far the best and largest of the places which we saw. We were then under the necessity of closing our researches, as it was high time to prepare for departure.

From the view which we had of the town when on the castle, we judged, that if there are in the Jewish quarter the number of families which they state, namely, four hundred, there would be about one thousand Mahomedan houses: for, as they occupy distinct quarters, it is easy to compare their superficial area: the Jews, however, state them at fifteen hundred families. The population of Safet

might be stated, in round numbers, at seven thousand souls. We observed four Minarets.

Owing to the steepness of the hill, on the slope of which some parts of Safet are built, the roofs of the lower houses form, in a degree, the pathway of passengers. A story is told which illustrates the condition of such houses. A camel once passing over such a path, the roof gave way; and the camel falling into the house below, broke his leg. The owner of the house sued for damages against the owner of the camel; and, vice versa, the owner of the camel claimed from the other the value of his animal, whose services were entirely lost to him. The sentence of the Turkish Cadi was given in favor of the owner of the camel; on the plea, that the tenant of the house knew that his roof was a public path-way, and ought therefore to have kept it in proper repair to prevent the occurrence of such an accident. The story may be correct or not: it, however, sufficiently explains the state of many of the path-ways in Safet.

HATTYN.

We departed at twelve o'clock; and, taking a road more westerly than that by which we came, bent our steps toward Nazareth. That evening, after six hours' ride, we reached Hattyn; a small village at the foot of the mountain, called the Mount of the Beatitudes—*Gebel et-Toobat*. It has one Minaret. Here are about eighty houses; of which ten are Greek Catholics', and the rest Mussulmans'. We rested at the house of the principal christian. He had only one room, in which he, his wife, their children, and some sick persons, were closely shut up; and in which he offered us a place where to lay our heads: but we preferred to occupy a little mud hut adjacent, the roof of which consisted of branches of trees, admitting the bright rays of the moon. We gave him some Sacred Scriptures, as he said they were all too poor to pay for them.

MOUNT OF THE BEATITUDES.

Saturday, Nov. 15, 1823—At early dawn we set off from Hattyn, to ascend the Mount of the Beatitudes. The road was steep, but very shady and refreshing; and, as we went, *we read aloud the first twelve verses of the fifth chapter*

of St. Matthew, and the thirteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. Our minds were raised to the enjoyment of those heavenly truths. We could not but feel how infinitely inferior all the maxims of sages and philosophers are, to those brief and simple descriptions of the graces of humility, meekness, gentleness, purity of heart, and patience of faith, hope, and love!

"Why is it," I asked, "that the very scenes become endeared to us, as we read the portions of Sacred Scripture relating to them; so that they are rendered much more lovely than mere scenery could make them?" My companion illustrated the feeling of religious association aptly, by putting the case of two amiable persons, "for both of whom," he said, "we might conceive a very warm affection; but if one were pious, and the other not, how far more congenial would our attachment be to him, whose heart was one with ours in the love of God! He is, in the truest sense, our FRIEND—a friend, in common, with us, of God—a friend for eternity! We may know him only for a short space of time on earth, but we shall know him hereafter for ever. So, to compare inanimate things with spiritual, our attachment to this spot is heightened by the remembrance of the divine discourses once uttered here; and which seem to make it hallowed ground: there are other scenes equally or more lovely, in the various countries which we have visited; but, to this, we are united by a kind of religious endearment."

With such reflections we entered the plain of Galilee, at its east end. Being arrived at this elevated plain, we find that the Mount of Beatitudes, which closes as it were a kind of barrier on the east, is not on this side so high as on the other side it appeared to be. The plain, in fact, rises at the end by a gentle slope into two small hills, on either of which it is probable enough that our Saviour sat when He delivered the sermon on the Mount. They are nearly close together, and would take a person not more than five minutes to ascend them. The plain itself abounded in flowers; and, although we were not able to say, that, among these, we could discern *the lilies of the field* to which our Saviour directed the thoughts of his hearers, yet my eye was particularly delighted by the sight of a flower not very common in England, the purple autumnal crocus. I have observed it flourishing, at this season, in every part of Mount Lebanon: and here, at this moment, it was expanding

its beautiful petals to as bright a sun as ever lighted up the blue firmament. And if our Heavenly Father so clothe the grass of the field, will He not much more clothe us? Have not we that same evidence of His care, exhibited to our senses on this unexhausted soil, which the apostles themselves had? It was impossible, supposing this to be the spot, or near to it, where these words were uttered, not to seek some collateral proof, which, however faint, might serve to illustrate the topography of the scene.

I have already alluded to the striking view from this place, of Safet, the *city set on a hill*. But my mind was more particularly led to trace the course which our Saviour took after delivering this sermon. If we compare the accounts given in Matthew viii. 1—13. Mark iii. 13—19, and Luke vi. throughout, and vii. 1—10, we shall be led to judge that our Lord had been already preaching at various towns in the region between Nazareth and Capernaum, the very region, which we are now traversing. On the night previous to delivering the sermon on the Mount, He retired to a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God: at day-break, He chooses His twelve disciples: He then descends into the plain, and is surrounded by a great multitude of people, who were continually thronging after Him: then lifting up his eyes on His disciples, He commences His discourse, with *Blissed are ye poor, &c.* This is St. Luke's account, who does not mention our Lord's re-ascending a mountain previously to His beginning His discourse; which, nevertheless, from St. Matthew v. 1, we are led to infer that He did. *When he had ended all his sayings...he entered into Capernaum* (Luke vii. 1): He descended, therefore, from the mount of the Beattitudes, toward the Lake of Tiberias. Now from this very spot, there is a road, passing through a ravine, direct to the Lake of Tiberias; and, from thence, to the present site of Capernaum, the distance hence to the lake being about two hours and a half. This ravine is the caravan-road from Damascus to the south. Although no absolutely certain evidence is deducible from this sketch, yet we felt it heighten our interest in the scene, to trace, as nearly as might be, with the Gospels in our hand and the very country before us, every step of our Lord's course.

Considerably further on, we arrived at the spot, where the christian guides point out the corn-field, in which the *disciples rubbed the ears of corn and ate of them on the*

Sabbath day. But here I felt, that, to particularize the precise position of a single field after a period of eighteen hundred years, by exacting rather too much from my powers of belief, tends rather to weaken the local enchantment. Here, however, the pilgrims, in their sacred route, are wont to halt, and read the appropriate portion of the Gospel: to which, though we did it not, I make no objection, provided they will allow me, as well as themselves, the title and rank of pilgrim. From a distance the tower of Sephoury was now distinguishable; and, soon after, we reached Cana of Galilee.

CANA OF GALILEE.

Cana is, at present, a very small and poor village. With some difficulty we found out the christian priest. We went with him to his church, in which he shewed us, fixed in the wall, one (as he assured us) of those water-pots referred to in St. John ii. 6. This I relate because he said so, not because I believed in it. On the walls are several Greek and Arabic inscriptions, recording the names of devout pilgrims to this place. But my eye was suddenly attracted by the sight of Abyssinian characters, to the same effect: the priest stated that this was written by an Abyssinian priest about four years ago, who remained here twenty days: his name was Baba Moose: in the day time, he was constantly in the church, reading; and, at night, he slept in the church-yard, beneath a tree, under the shade of which we rested to take some refreshment.

A small number of christians gathered round us, with whom we conversed, and to whom we sold and gave a few copies of the Scriptures. The population they stated to be about thirty houses Mussulman, and thirty houses christian, of the Oriental-Greek church. The total number accords with the appearance of the village. Evidence of the rite to which they belonged, we had in a printed Greek paper, hanging up in the church, signed by Polycarp, patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 1816; similar exactly to the document mentioned at pp. 25, 26 of "Christian Researches in the Mediterranean."

RETURN TO NAZARETH.

With this village, now so inconsiderable, but where once the glory of the Divine Person of Christ was manifested

forth to his disciples, by the first miracle which he wrought, we closed our present excursion; arriving at Nazareth, which seemed to us, for a moment, like a home, about three o'clock in the afternoon.

PLAIN OF ESDRAELON.

Tuesday, Nov. 18, 1823—We left Nazareth for Jerusalem.

Our road, for the first three quarters of an hour, lay among the hills which lead to the plain of Esdraelon; upon which, when we were once descended, we had no more inconvenience, but rode for the most part on level ground, interrupted by only gentle ascents and descents. This is that "mighty plain"—*מִישׁוֹר גָּדוֹל*, as it is called by ancient writers—which, in every age, has been celebrated for so many battles. It was across this plain, that the hosts of Barak chased Sisera and his nine hundred chariots of iron: from Mount Tabor to that ancient river, the river Kishon, would be directly through the middle of it. At present, there is peace; but not that most visible evidence of enduring peace and civil protection, a thriving population. We counted, in our road across the plain, only five very small villages, consisting of wretched mud-hovels, chiefly in ruins; and very few persons moving on the road. We might again truly apply to this scene the words of Deborah (Judges v. 6, 7.)—*The highways were unoccupied: the inhabitants of the villages ceased—they ceased in Israel.* The soil is extremely rich; and, in every direction, are the most picturesque views—the hills of Nazareth to the north—those of Samaria, to the south—to the east, the mountains of Tabor and Hermon—and Carmel, to the south-west.

GENNYN.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the village of Gennyn, which is situated at the entrance of one of the numerous vales which lead out of the plain of Esdraelon to the mountainous regions of Ephraim. One of these passages would be the valley of Jezreel; and from the window of the Khan where we are lodging, we have a clear view of the tract over which the prophet Elijah must have passed, when he girded up his loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel. But, in the present day,

no chariots of Ahab or of Sisera are to be seen—not even a single wheel-carriage, of any description whatever. The public wells by the road-side have no pulleys on wheels to assist in drawing water: for who would expose for public use, what his neighbor would have not the least scruple in secretly stealing away? The roads among the mountains are, indeed, so neglected—such mere single foot-paths—that it is difficult to imagine in what way chariots could now convey the traveller to Jerusalem, or over the chief part of the Holy Land.

Arriving at Gennyn, we sought out the small body of christians here. They have a priest, and are of the Greek communion; in number, seven or eight houses. Their quarters are extremely mean; and we found much difficulty in gaining attention to our Arabic Scriptures. The two principal christians were sitting on the ground with a gaming-board between them, playing at a favorite game of chance, with shells in the holes of the board; and seemed to regard our visit as a troublesome intrusion.

NABLOUS, OR NAPOLOSE.

Wednesday, Nov. 19, 1823—We set off; considerably before day-light, for Nablous. The air was extremely keen for the first two hours; and, gradually, when the sun had risen, its burning heat came upon us, with a doubly-exhausting effect.

It was about an hour after mid-day that we had our first view of the city of Nablous, romantically situated in a deep valley, between the mountains of Ebal on our left and Gerizim on the right. There is a kind of sublime horror in the lofty, craggy, and barren aspect of these two mountains, which seem to face each other with an air of defiance; especially as they stand contrasted with the rich valley beneath, where the city appears to be embedded on either side in green gardens and extensive olive-grounds—rendered more verdant, by the lengthened periods of shade which they enjoy from the mountains on each side. Of the two, Gerizim is not wholly without cultivation.

We had always been informed, that the facility of passing by way of Nablous depended very much on the character of the governor of the city. Our case was singular: for we had to learn, what kind of reception a city without a governor would give us; the governor having died this very

morning. On coming within sight of the gate, we perceived a numerous company of females, who were singing in a kind of recitative, far from melancholy, and beating time with their hands. If this be mourning, I thought, it is of a strange kind. It had indeed, sometimes, more the air of angry defiance. But on our reaching the gate, it was suddenly exchanged for most hideous plaints and shrieks, which, with the feeling that we were entering a city at no time celebrated for its hospitality, struck a very dismal impression upon my mind. They accompanied us a few paces: but it soon appeared that the gate was their station; to which, having received nothing from us, they returned. We learnt, in the course of the evening, that these were only a small detachment of a very numerous body of *cunning women*, who were filling the whole city with their cries—*taking up a wailing*, with the design, as of old, to make the eyes of all the inhabitants *run down with tears, and their eyelids gush out with waters*. (Jerem. ix. 17, 18.) For this good service, they would, the next morning, wait upon the government and principal persons, to receive some trifling fee.

On entering the city, we reached, in a short space, the quarters of the Greek priest; where we obtained a room, a very dirty one indeed, but the best that was to be had.

The christians in this city are all of the Greek communion. The priest's name is Baba Ysa. They are, in number, between twenty and thirty families: there are between seventy and eighty males who pay the capitatioñ-tax. We found them to be in mean circumstances, but very friendly. They purchased a few Arabic Testaments.

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SAMARITANS.

In the evening we visited the Samaritan priest, Shalmor Ben Tobiah. He seemed surprised that we should know his name, and asked us how we had heard of him. When we informed him that we knew him through previous travellers, he shewed us the letter of a French gentleman, who had travelled three or four years ago this way, and had sent to make certain inquiries of him.

In a little time, we were joined by various others of his people, in number about twelve. I was struck to observe that the character of the priest's physiognomy was far from Jewish: that of some of the party was Jewish. He informed us, that, among their people here, some were of the

tribe of Levi; namely, his own family, consisting of four boys and a girl: only this family, however, as he is the only man of that tribe. He said that there are four or five families of the tribe of Manasseh, and that all the rest are of Ephraim; excepting one of the tribe of Benjamin, who, while we were speaking, came in. In all, they are between twenty and thirty houses. About sixty males pay the capitation-tax. We asked him, how they would supply the priesthood, in case his family should fail: several replied, together, "It never fails." The priest, and his sons, alone, have the privilege of standing on the raised step before the Torah in their Synagogue.

They said there were in Nablous a few Jewish houses fewer than their own. To our inquiries, whether there were any other Samaritans in the world, he replied there were—some in England, some in America, some in Benderbeshire* near India: there had been very many in France; but they were now reduced to three or four: and, finally, there were some at Sabbath. His replies were given in a manner, which implied a desire to represent the numbers of his people as considerable; rather than in a way, which at all convinced us of his knowing the condition, or even the existence, of his brethren in other countries, concerning whom he offered this information. He stated the fact of the Babylonish captivity; and said that they were of the remnant which remained in the land, and of those who subsequently returned; but the narrative in 2 Kings xvii. 24. &c. they reject as a fabrication.

On producing the Hebrew New Testament, we asked if it was lawful for them to read it: the priest said that there was no restraint upon their reading any books whatever, and accepted the copy which we offered. We also gave him an Arabic New Testament.

He said they were all in expectation of the Messiah—that the Messiah would be a man, not the Son of God—and that this was the place, which he would make the Metropolis of his kingdom: this was the place, of which the Lord had promised, He would place his name there. We asked what passages of the Pentateuch, according to their views, spoke of the Messiah. He quoted, *A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up like unto me, &c.* This promise of the

* I suppose him to mean Bushire, in the Persian Gulf, west-south-west, about 100 miles, from Shiraz. Bender is a Persian word, signifying a Mart or Emporium.

Messiah was not fulfilled in Joshua, for he was not a prophet.

We begged to see the celebrated manuscript. He made many difficulties, though he readily allowed us to see the Synagogue. We pressed our wishes, however; when he said there were many things previously requisite: he must go first to the bath—he must light up many candles, &c. We knew what this meant, and said that we would pay for all the candles;* on which he consented to shew us the manuscript the next morning.

We then went down into the Synagogue with his son and many of the company; but he did not accompany us. They made us take off more of our dress, than I had ever been despoiled of before—both my outer and inner shoes; and my “ferwi,” a warm dress lined with fur. We saw several Samaritan manuscripts on a shelf, wrapped up in cloth: they were written on skin. On our asking their price, a young man said that they were not to be sold; that to sell them was “Haram” “prohibited;” and that every letter was worth a sequin. The Samaritan character they call Ebrani; and refuse the type which we call Hebrew, as an innovation.

Thursday, Nov. 20, 1823—Early this morning, according to appointment, we visited the Samaritan priest. We waited for him some time; during which we placed in order our Bibles, and selected some texts on which we desired to converse with him. At length he made his appearance, and accompanied us into the Synagogue. With great reverence, he produced the venerable manuscript, which he said was written by Abisha,† grandson of Aaron thirteen years after the death of Moses, now three thousand, four hundred and sixty years ago.‡ We were not permitted to touch the sacred book, but only to look at it, at about a foot distance: the page at which he opened shewed, certainly, a very ancient manuscript, with the characters yet sufficiently distinct. He then shewed us another of a similar form—apparently an exact copy—which he said was eight hundred years old. He also produced a few tattered leaves of Walton’s Polyglott—part of Genesis. We asked if they did not

* Candles, being very much used in places of worship in the East, are almost a standard of ecclesiastical fees.

† We understood him to say Grandson; but Abishua was great grandson. See 1 Chron. vi. 4.

‡ According to our computation, it should be 3261 years ago. Probably the mistake was ours in hearing him.

consider the Books of Joshua and Judges as sacred, in the same manner as the Torah: he replied, "By no means: these two books we have, and we reverence them; but the Torah is our only sacred book. Joshua was not a prophet, but the disciple of a prophet, that is, of Moses."

We inquired in which direction they turn their faces, when they pray: he waved his hand in the direction a little right of the angle behind the altar that is nearly southward. In this direction is the city of Luz, which afterwards was called Bethel; the place which the Lord appointed to set His name there.

We went out, and he directed his hand toward the hill Gerizim, to a point, a little beyond which is the spot whither they go "to bless." It may be observed, that the Samaritans here, according to the account which the priest gave of their tribes, are all within the enumeration of those six tribes mentioned Deut. xxvii. 12, 13, whose lot it was to repeat the blessings; the other six being appointed to curse on Mount Ebal. He also directed his hand toward the spot, where those were to stand who were appointed to curse.

We asked if the report was true, that, in any way, they worshipped the symbol of a dove—looking, at the same time, to see if the emblem of the dove was any where to be seen on the curtain, which screens the altar, as some had said. He replied, "It is a falsehood of the Jews, who endeavor to calumniate us."

As to Jerusalem, they have no respect for it as a holy city; regarding the Jews as their rivals, and speaking entirely in the spirit of the woman of Samaria (John iv. 20): *Our fathers worshipped in this mountain.*

We then produced a few passages in the Pentateuch, concerning which we desired to know his opinion, whether or no they referred to the Messiah. Genesis iii. 15 (*I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel*) he said did not refer to the Messiah. Genesis xlix. 10 (*The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come*) they consider as a prophecy of the Messiah, who is Shiloh: and, when pressed on the circumstance, that the sceptre was already departed from Judah, he gave the explanation which many of the Jews give, that Judah has always hitherto existed and still exists somewhere in the world, exercising regal authority; although he acknowledged that he did not know where. We

asked if there were any other passages: he quoted no other this morning; but, yesterday, he had already cited Deut. xviii. 15.

On coming out, we asked how long this synagogue had been occupied by them: he pointed to a small marble slab inserted in the wall, engraven with Samaritan characters; which, he said, recorded the period of their occupying this building—now four hundred and ninety years. There were two or three other slabs with Samaritan characters, inserted in like manner in the wall. That which records the date of their possession of the synagogue is in a small recess, on the left side of the door.

Three times a year they go up Mount Gerizim: but we did not understand what their services were on these occasions; not he said, to sacrifice, for fear of the Turks. When they do sacrifice, it is done in some private place, and in the city, that they may not be molested. We understood them to say that they had not a daily sacrifice.*

The house of this priest, and the synagogue which adjoins it, are very clean—a perfect contrast to the inveterate filth of the Jewish houses and synagogues, which we had seen at Tiberias and Safet; one only excepted, that of the Austrian consul at Tiberias. Whether this is owing to the national character of the Samaritans—if NATIONAL be a term applicable to a hundred persons—or whether it is owing to their being in tolerably easy circumstances, or whether it is the case with the priest's house alone, which was the only one we visited, it is not in my power to judge.

The priest, in a very friendly manner, asked us to take up our lodging with him for the night; as he had done on the evening before: but we designed to leave at noon; and, therefore, bid him farewell. He desired us to join our fingers together with his, in token, as he said, that the English were his friends; adding, that he wished to be considered as under English protection.†

* When, on a subsequent occasion, I passed through Nablous, the chief layman of the Samaritans told me, that, at the passover, they still sacrifice and eat the Paschal Lamb.

† On the subject of the Samaritans, the reader may consult Bunsen's history of the Jews; and also Prideaux's Connexion, Part I. Book 2. The following extract is from Prideaux:—

“There is an old copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch now shewn at Shechem, (or Nablous, as they now call it,) the head seat of that sect, which would put this matter beyond all dispute, were that true which is said of it. For they tell us, that therein are written these words: ‘*I Abishua, the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the High Priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the 13th year of the children of Israel's entrance into the Holy Land.*’ But Dr. Huntington, late bishop of Rapho in Ireland, having, while chaplain to the Turkey Company at Aleppo, been at Shechem, and there examined this copy upon the spot, found no such words on the manuscript, nor thought the copy ancient. Whether the

REMARKS ON THE SAMARITANS.

The character, and indeed the existence to the present day, of this now-diminished people, must appear a very singular fact. They seem to have made Nablous, what it anciently was to the Israelites when its name was Shechem, *their City of Refuge*;^{*} and here, in some faint sense, to have found security. Were their own account of their genealogy to be admitted, they might almost be regarded—according to our view of the division of the Twelve Tribes between Rehoboam and Jeroboam—as representing the most ancient schism in the Church of God. This would place them on a footing of greater antiquity than even the Karaïm; who claim for their date the return from the Babylonish captivity.

Of the true origin of the Samaritans, however, we shall naturally judge from those Scriptures, which are by us received as canonical. A mingled race—principally Cuthæan, though partly, perhaps, of Israelitish blood—they have, in the course of ages, vainly endeavored to claim as an hereditary right every privilege of Israel; and to identify themselves, almost in a more exclusive manner than the Jews themselves, with the great Hebrew Legislator. Their pretensions have never been, to this day, admitted by the Jews; and, by our Lord himself, they were repeatedly spoken of and treated as strangers.

It is easy to account, therefore, for their repugnance to receive a large portion of the books of our Holy Scriptures.

The history of the Kings of Judah and Israel, (although they acknowledge the fact, there recorded, of the Babylonish captivity,) must be, above all, peculiarly obnoxious, as fixing upon them the stigma of a spurious and idolatrous origin: see 2 Kings xvii. 24—41.

The Psalms, designed for the spiritual edification of the church in every place and age, yet record their rejection, and declare the superior favor shewn to their rival city

Samaritans did, in ancient times, absolutely reject all the other Scriptures besides the Pentateuch, some do doubt; because it is certain, from the discourse of the woman of Samaria with our Saviour, that they had the same expectations of a Messiah that the Jews had; and this they say they could no where clearly have, but from the prophets. And it cannot be denied, but that there is some force in this argument. Perchance, although they did read the Pentateuch only in their synagogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other sacred writings, whatsoever their sentiments may be of them at present.¹¹

^{*} Joshua xx. 7, and xxi. 31.

Jerusalem: *Moreover, he refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim. But chose the tribe of Judah, the Mount Sion which he loved.* Psalm lxxvii. 67, 68, with other similar passages.) This invaluable treasure of devotion is, therefore, in a manner lost to them.

Isaiah must offend them, as he everywhere uses the terms of Zion and Jerusalem, in describing the seat of the Messiah's kingdom. Jeremiah confirms the expressions quoted from the Psalms (Jer. vii. 15. also iii. 17.) Micah gives to Bethlehem the honor of Messiah's birth. Daniel, in his prayer, declares Jerusalem to be *the holy mountain of God.* And thus it is with many other passages of the Old Testament.

Our Lord expressly charges them with worshipping they *knew not what*—an expression so similar to that in the Acts of the Apostles (xvii. 23,) that it seems to describe them, while partially enlightened, yet to be little better than heathens: and He accordingly directs His disciples, in the same verse, to decline going either to Gentiles or Samaritans; plainly intimating that the Samaritans were not to be accounted, any more than the Gentiles, as of the house of Israel: (Matt. x. 5, 6.) He, also, expressly denominated the Samaritan leper, *a stranger*: (Luke xvii. 18.)

Their existence to the present day, maintaining that very geographical post, to which, in consequence of their opinions, they must in every age have been most partial, demonstrates, in a high degree, the extreme tenaciousness of party spirit. Christianity—for this was once a christian bishopric—appears not to have dislodged these ancient tenants of the mountains of Ephraim. In what light their future conversion is to be regarded, whether as belonging to the operations of general Missionary Societies or of Societies for the Jews, might be a question of some nicety, were it requisite to speculate upon it. They are, however, too small a body—nearly confined, as there is reason to believe, to this one district—to be considered as peculiarly interesting to any one Society more than another; unless (which is a mere conjecture) they should be in the secret possession of facts, which might serve as a clue to any discoveries relative to the Ten Tribes. In a historical point of view, they are certainly a kind of religious curiosity: in a practical view, they will probably be regarded alike by all missionaries as calling for prayer and exertion. May they be brought to flee to the sinner's only City of

Refuge, of whom this city was a type—even to Him, who here graciously announced himself to a sinful woman of Samaria, as *the Christ, the Saviour of the world!*

DEPARTURE FROM NABLOUS.

Having, with much difficulty, compelled our guides to prepare for departure from Nablous, they declaring that the whole city and country were in confusion on account of the death of the governor, we set off, at length, considerably after twelve o'clock. At the gate, our servants were long detained for a trifling exaction; which we desired them, for the sake of all future travellers, to resist as long, and reduce as low, as possible. For about two shillings, they at length escaped with a great deal of abuse of us as Franks and Christians.

SANGYL.

We, in the mean time, took our route through the extensive and picturesque olive-grounds, which lie on the southern side of Nablous. These open, at length, upon a fine valley, which stretches to the right and left; and which, from its fertility, may well be regarded as a worthy portion for Jacob to have given to his beloved son Joseph. It runs nearly north-east and south-west: the valley of Nablous, being at right angles to it, lies consequently about north-west and south-east.

Leaving the valley of Nablous, the high-towering rocks of Mount Ebal, and Mount Gerizim seemed to assume a more than common awfulness; from the effect of a thick haze which was just gathering upon the air. Winding on the right hand round the base of Mount Gerizim, we gradually ascended for some distance; having the above-mentioned valley of Joseph just beneath us on the left. We arrived, only, by sun-set, at the ruined khan, called Khan Leban; and had now to ascend a steep and rocky road, leading to the village of Sangyl, when the sky burst upon us with torrents of rain and furious blasts of wind, for half an hour. On arriving at our poor village, we went to the house of the only christian family in the place; who kindly made us a blazing fire, at which we were glad to dry ourselves and take supper.

BETHEL.

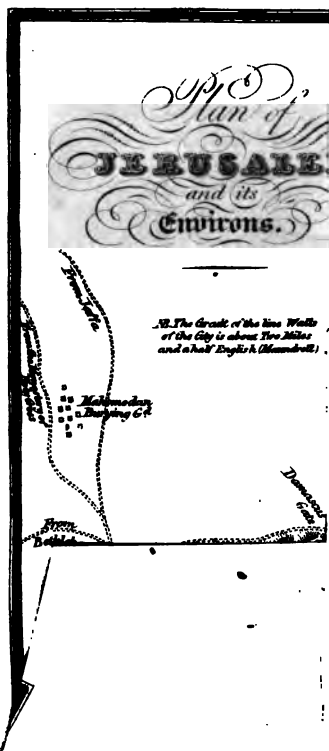
Friday, Nov. 21, 1823—We started a little after sunrise, and began to descend into the valley; somewhere in the neighborhood of which was Bethel—the spot where Jacob beheld the vision of angels; and received those encouraging assurances of the presence and protection of God, which were his support all his life long. Here, more than five and thirty centuries ago, this patriarch dedicated himself to the Lord, in terms, which are still well suited to express, what should be the moderate desire of every missionary—*If God will be with me and keep me in this way, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on . . . then shall the Lord be my God.*

The road through which we passed was, in many parts, very picturesque; but a more particular allusion to it will appear in a subsequent page.

APPROACH TO JERUSALEM.

On reaching the rocky heights of Beer, the country began to assume a more wild appearance. Uncultivated hilly tracts, in every direction, seemed to announce, that, not only Jerusalem, but its vicinity for some miles round, was destined to sadden the heart of every visitor. Even *the stranger that shall come from a far land*, it was predicted (Deut. xxix. 22.), should be amazed at the plagues laid upon this country: and this became, more than ever, literally fulfilled, in my feelings, as I drew near to the Metropolis of this chosen nation. Expectation was, indeed, wrought up to a high pitch, as we ascended hill after hill, and beheld others yet more distant rising after each other.

Being apprehensive lest I should not reach the city gate before sun-set, Mr. Fisk having gone on some way before me in order to prepare our rooms, I repeatedly desired the guides to ask the Arabs whom we met, how far, or according to the language of this country, "how many hours," it was to Jerusalem. The answer which we received from all was, "We have been at the prayers at the Mosque of Omar, and we left at noon"—to-day being the Mohammedan Sabbath. We were thus left to calculate our distance. The reply sounded very foreign to the ears of one, who knew that, formerly, there were scenes of purer worship



up what is called the "Via Delorosa," from its supposed path of our Lord when he bore his cross way to his crucifixion, we, at length, alighted at the convent of Mar Michael.

C... and we rest at noon...
Sabbath. We were that left to calculate our distance.
The reply sounded very foreign to the ears of one, who
knew that, formerly, there were scenes of purer worship

on this spot. *Thither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, to give testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord.*

At length, while the sun was yet two hours high, my long and intensely interesting suspense was relieved. The view of the city burst upon me as in a moment; and the truly graphic language of the Psalmist was verified, in a degree of which I could have formed no previous conception. Continually, the expressions were bursting from my lips—*Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion!—They, that trust in the Lord, shall be as Mount Zion; which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever!—As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people, from henceforth even forever!*

Among the vast assemblage of domes which adorn the roofs of the convents, churches, and houses, and give to this forlorn city an air even of magnificence, none seemed more splendid than that which has usurped the place of Solomon's Temple. Not having my companion with me, I surveyed all in silence and rapture; and the elegant proportions, the glittering gilded crescent, and the beautiful green-blue color of the mosque of Omar were peculiarly attractive. A more soothing part of the scenery was the lovely slope of the Mount of Olives on the left. As we drew nearer and nearer to the city of the great King, more and more manifest were the proofs of the displeasure of that great King resting upon his city.

JERUSALEM.

Like many other cities of the east, the distant view of Jerusalem is inexpressibly beautiful: but the distant view is all. On entering at the Damascus gate, meanness, and filth and misery, not exceeded, if equalled, by any thing which I had before seen, soon told the tale of degradation. *How is the fine gold become dim!*

Thus I went onward, pitying every thing and every body that I saw—till, turning off to the right, and having passed up what is called the "Via Dolorosa," from its being the supposed path of our Lord when he bore his cross on the way to his crucifixion, we, at length, alighted at the Greek convent of Mar Michael.

FIRST FEELINGS AND REFLECTIONS IN JERUSALEM.

During the first few hours after our arrival in the holy city, there was little to stir up the heart to a lively feeling, that this is really that venerable and beloved place, renowned above all others in Scripture. Hunger, fatigue, and the cheerlessness of an eight hours' ride over a peculiarly desolate tract of country, with no other refreshment than a small jar of boiled rice and some bread, would have been agreeably relieved by the welcome of pleasant countenances, sufficient food, and a warm room: but our apartments, which had not been occupied for six months, were floored and vaulted with stone—fire-places are unknown in this land—our provisions were all to seek; and, at this late hour of the day, scarcely to be found—Hadjee Demetrius, the servant of the convent, in a sort of broken Turco-Grecian dialect, proffered his tedious and awkward services—the baggage was to be looked after—the mercenary and clamorous guides were to be (not satisfied: that was an impossibility; but) settled with and dismissed—and, lastly, as if to diffuse a perfect sadness over our arrival, the storm, which had threatened and slightly touched us during the latter part of our stage, now began to fall in torrents, similar to those which had buffeted us on the preceding evening near Sangyl. Every thing combined to inspire a feeling of melancholy—congenial enough to those emotions with which the actual civil and religious condition of Jerusalem deserves now to be contemplated; but, in no degree harmonizing with those sublimer and more glorious thoughts, which the very name of this city generally awakens in the bosom of the Christian.

When the evening had closed, however, and the hour for retirement, devotion, and repose arrived, all that I had ever anticipated as likely to be felt on reaching this place, gradually came into my mind, and filled me with the most lively consciousness of delight at being in Jerusalem. "This"—I thought—"is no other than the city of David. Hither, the queen of the south came to hear the wisdom of Solomon. Isaiah here poured forth strains of evangelic rapture, which will glow with unspent warmth till the end of time. Here, the building of the second temple drew from the beholders mingled shouts and tears; and, here, *was that very temple, made more glorious than the first,*

by the entrance of the *Desire of all nations, the Messenger of the covenant!* Here, after He had rebuilt the temple of his own body, he began the wondrous work of raising a spiritual temple to his Father—shedding abundantly upon his disciples the gift of the Holy Ghost, for which they waited in this very city; and then sending them forth as *his witnesses to the uttermost parts of the earth."*

Such were the principal thoughts, with which I had for some months associated this visit; and, now, all were gradually presented to my mind.

I felt, I confess, no particular anxiety to see what are called the "holy places." Many have hastened to offer their first devotions at the sepulchre of our Lord: so far from having this desire, I feel somewhat of repugnance at the idea: it is enough for me to know, that I am not far from that scene—that Gethsemane, and Calvary, and *the place where the Lord lay*, are all so near to me, that I can truly say, I am dwelling in the midst of them. All this, too, my heart can better conceive in the stillness of the night-season, than by the light of day. And He, who suffered here, still lives—*Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to day, and for ever!* Spiritually he is as near to me, as he would have been had I seen him, this very day, at the ninth hour expiring upon the cross: the blood then shed is still fresh in its efficacy, and *cleanseth us from all sin.* If to have come hither should prove the means of raising me one degree higher in love to this adorable Redeemer, I would be thankful: but let me remember, that he desires us chiefly to view him with the eye of faith; and that, although *we see Him not in the flesh, yet, believing, we may rejoice in Him with joy unspeakable and full of glory.*

Saturday, Nov. 22, 1823—I was early awakened in the morning, by some person in the convent chapel striking a piece of wood. My room communicates with the upper part of the chapel, by a lattice, at which the smoke of the incense soon began to enter: the striking of the wood was instead of the ringing of a bell; and, in a few moments, I heard the voices of two or three ecclesiastics, commencing the drowsy, monotonous chant of the Greek Liturgy. This service was observed by them every morning.

On rising, it was pleasant to view from my chamber-window the mild scenery of the Mount of Olives. This mountain gradually increases in beauty, till about the second hour after sunrise; when the swells and slopes upon its

side present a very soft variation of light and shade, at this season of the year.

In the course of the day, one of the monks of the principal Greek convent called to bring the salutations of the Epitropi, or Superintendants. Many others, also, who knew Mr. Fisk and his brethren in their former visits, came with presents in their hands, and inquired what Bibles and Testaments we had brought.

GREEK MONKS.

Sunday, Nov. 23—In the morning we had divine service in our room; together with an English gentleman, now in Jerusalem.

After dinner, several monks from the principal Greek convent called upon us; and conversed, as they may naturally be expected to do, concerning the calamities of their church. One of them stated the case thus: "Why do not the European Christian powers unite in putting down our enemies? We are your brethren: when Abraham heard that Lot was taken by the five kings, he immediately set off with his company, and overtook them, and rescued his nephew." I need not repeat, that, upon this topic, which we inevitably hear frequently discussed, we find it best to be silent—our office being rather to draw religious uses from the melancholy state of things; and to apply the remedy to the heart, out of which proceed wars and fightings.

ABYSSINIAN PRIEST.

Shortly after this party had left us, another person entered. The moment he opened the door, I exclaimed, "You need not tell me of what country that man is. This is an Abyssinian." His resemblance to the few Abyssinians whom I have seen, and to the living picture given by Ludolf of Abba Gregorius, in complexion, form, and expression of countenance, his dress, his manner, all bespoke his nation. He bowed, or rather crouched and fawned, toward us; repeating the word "*Salamat*"—I will not say a thousand, or even a hundred times—but certainly so often, and with such profuse servility, that we knew not whether to be more amused or wearied: and as this was his uniform custom at all future interviews, we as uniformly used to sum up our reply to him, in plain English, "*Salamat a thousand*

times!"—"A thousand healths or compliments to you!" Not that this brevity on our part caused him to intermit his reiterated Salamats: for whatever powerful effects western nations may attribute to a direct, brief, and blunt method of accosting both friends and foes, the men of the east are well acquainted with the maxim; that *a soft tongue breaketh the bone*. Oppression has taught them to carry gentleness to an excess. They are born and bred to the practice of refined insinuation or gross flattery, and it seems impossible to beat them off from that ground, since they expect to succeed on no other.

Both the Abyssinian priest and myself speak Arabic too imperfectly, to make ourselves well understood by each other. I learn from him, however, that he has been in this city seven years; that there are about twenty Abyssinians in his convent, and that he is the chief among them. Last year he says that seven pilgrims set out from Abyssinia; of whom three were priests and four deacons. By the term deacon may be meant merely persons who have taken the first degree in the church, and read the Lessons in divine service: it is usual, in the east, for young men to do this, while they remain laymen; and this corresponds with the *prima tonsura* of the church of Rome. One of these pilgrims did not live to reach Jerusalem, but died at Damietta. The priest informs me, likewise, that the daughter of the king of Abyssinia, mentioned by Mr. Connor,* is dead. The political news which they hear from Abyssinia is, that Su-byadis is increasing in strength, and likely to fix himself in the situation of the late Ras Welled Selasse as governor of Tigré: if he should finally succeed, it may be of considerable advantage; as he is under personal obligation to Mr. Salt, and consequently a friend to the English.

GREEK CONVENT.

Tuesday, Nov. 25, 1823—We visited the principal Greek convent, and had an interview with Daniel the bishop of Nazareth; a man of acuteness and learning; very placid, but apparently much worn with anxiety on account of the oppressions suffered by the Greek convents—*And on the side of the oppressors there is power*. To him, conjointly with the bishop of Petra, is committed the charge of the affairs of this patriarchate. The patriarch himself, Polycarp,

* Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, p. 432.

never visits Jerusalem. For more than a century this has been the custom; and indeed those of whom I inquired scarcely knew from how far back the patriarch had been in the habit of taking up his residence at Constantinople. This he does, because a very large sum of money would be required by the Turks, on such an occasion as the entrance of a patriarch within the walls of Jerusalem. The head dragoman of the convent was present, as also the librarian. The dragoman cried out, repeatedly, and with an earnestness which seemed almost like an appeal to our purses, "We want help! We need some assistance!" The bishop himself speaks with much more pathos: when we condoled with him on their present afflictions he briefly replied, "It is for our sins: the measure of the chastisement of our sins is not yet filled up!" And these are expressions which he often uses with us. In allusion to the new governor, who arrived only two days before us, I was saying that probably they had not yet had much acquaintance with him: they answered, with a sad smile, "Our governors soon make themselves known." Coming, in fact, as often as once a year, and sometimes oftener, they make a speedy, uncere- monious approach to the purses of the different communi- ties: and then give place to a new, and equally hungry suc- cessor. As I was mentioned as Secretary of the Bible Society in Malta, the bishop expressed his interest in the welfare of the Society—saying, "Your heart is set upon a good work"—or words to that effect. His colleague is, at present, ill of a fever.

The librarian accompanied us to the library. There are some books in Latin, French, and Italian; but not many—none in Ethiopic: the chief part are Greek. In the small inner rooms, several Greek manuscripts, principally scrip- tural, were shewn us: they did not appear to be of great antiquity. The patriarch of Jerusalem, he tells us, is set- tled by the will of his predecessor, not by election—the patriarch of Constantinople, by election of the Holy Synod; and the patriarch of Antioch, also, by the same Synod of Constantinople. The patriarch of Antioch takes up his resi- dence at Damascus. The patriarch of Alexandria he rep- resented also as chosen at Constantinople. These are all of the Oriental Greek church.

It is one of the canons of the Greek convents of Jerusa- lem, that NO NATIVES CAN BELONG TO THEM. The christians of this communion are numerous in Palestine and Syria;

but they rise to none of the dignities of this patriarchate, nor are they admitted members of the monasteries. Most generally they are married priests. Their language is Arabic. In the convents here, Greek chiefly is spoken, and also Turkish; the monks being all from Greece, Asia Minor, or the Archipelago.

Daniel takes his episcopal title from Nazareth: his colleague is styled *Αγιος Ηρώδης*, "the saint of Petra," or "the holy [bishop] of Petra." Petra (the metropolis of which is Karrac, three or four days' distant from Jerusalem, on the east of the Dead Sea, in which region are yet many christians) is his diocese. The title "holy" is very commonly given, in this manner, to the bishops; although, strictly, they do not allow the title "saint" to any except those who work miracles. This bishop is the one who, annually at Easter, performs the reputed miracle of the Holy Fire: concerning which it is difficult to reflect without mingled emotions of horror and indignation.*

We visited some of the monks; and went over the whole of the convent, which is a very extensive but irregular building. The number of monks whom it would well accommodate was stated at seventy: and here nearly all the resident monks of Jerusalem abide. The other Greek convents, in number about ten, are of far smaller dimensions; designed only for the reception of the pilgrims, and merely occupied by a Superior and one or two monks during the absence of pilgrims. They are, at present, nearly a solitude; no Greek pilgrims having arrived for two years: formerly, this communion could boast a much larger number of pilgrims than any other. The number of ecclesiastics, in the whole of the Greek patriarchate of Jerusalem, was stated to me at 200: but I have no means of verifying the statement.

From the terrace of the principal convent, the court of the Abyssinians is overlooked. At the hour we were there (about mid-day) we saw the poor Abyssinians receiving their daily bread: it is given them as charity by the Armenians.

ABYSSINIAN CONVENT.

Thursday, Nov. 27, 1823—Went to the Abyssinian convent. The road by which the priest led us, which was not the direct way, was through the place where they slaughter

* See an account of this Holy Fire in Maundrell, and various travellers; and in Mr. Connor's Journal, pp. 436, 437 of *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*.

animals. Hovels and streets so offensively abounding with noisome sights and pestilential smells, I never before witnessed. In the court-yard, and in a small adjacent garden belonging to the convent of this people, we saw twelve Abyssinians; of whom five were females and seven were men. One of them was pointed out to us as a priest; but he could speak no other than his native language. In the garden was a wretched hovel, which was the abode of part of this company. Some of them appeared very old; one or two rather young. They all seemed very idle, and indeed their whole object appears to be, to spend their last days in Jerusalem, doing almost nothing. Nor do we see, indeed, any thing in the society by which they are surrounded, which would stimulate them to a higher purpose. We were not able to converse with them, and our accompanying priest was but an imperfect, and somewhat unwilling, interpreter. He took us into his own room; and here we sat, for a long time, occupied with his manuscripts. Among other books, we found copies of the Psalter published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

This city may be an excellent station for learning the Abyssinian language; as here is a company of twenty, who, although ignorant, indolent, and utterly inapt to the art of teaching, would, nevertheless, to a man who could teach himself from books, furnish pronunciation and practice. As a station for distributing the Abyssinian Scriptures, I imagine it would not answer; for they, who come hither, generally never return to their native country. The motive which brought them hither—blind devotion—and the difficulties which they met with on their way, added to their extreme poverty, operate to fix them in Jerusalem, when once fairly arrived. Yet, possibly, an Englishman, intending to visit Abyssinia, might here find an individual among them willing, for a suitable pecuniary consideration, to accompany him; and he would serve, though on many accounts imperfectly, as a guide and interpreter. My conviction is here confirmed, that whoever visits Abyssinia must go relying, under Providence, on his own resources, and not on any companion. Were it my destination, however, I should certainly, after acquiring a competent knowledge of Arabic, aim at giving twelve or eighteen months to the study and practice of the ancient and modern Abyssinian languages in Jerusalem, rather than any other spot which I have yet seen. There are these additional advantages:

the mind would thus become inured to the misery of the circumstances of that people; and, further, a traveller, passing from Jerusalem to Abyssinia, would carry with him, as a visitor from that holy city, a peculiar recommendation.

I examined several of the manuscripts in this convent; and subsequently purchased the whole of the Ethiopic New Testament, in two manuscript volumes. There was, among the manuscripts, one great folio, written in large characters. The priest had told others, and he wished to persuade me, that it was the whole of the Old Testament. From the simplest calculation it evidently could not be above the fifth part of it; but when I turned the leaves over, and shewed him that it was only a Lectionary containing extracts from Isaiah, Daniel, Hosea, and other books of the Old Testament, he began to be half angry. He said that they read this book through in the offices of the passion-week.

I will here add the remainder of that scanty information, which I subsequently obtained in this quarter concerning the Abyssinians. Three or four of them have joined the Greek communion: so far as I could learn, this conversion has arisen from the hope of improving their condition a little, and eating more bread. They are, at present, residing at the Greek monastery of Mar Saba, three hours to the east of Jerusalem, on the way to the Dead Sea. There are, likewise, two at the Armenian convent: I did not see them: but the Abyssinian priest, who is on friendly terms with the Armenians, said that one was elderly, the other a youth. Of those whom I have to-day seen, one was quite young; not more, probably, than twenty years of age. The person pointed out as a priest seemed to me not more than thirty-five. The chief priest appears upward of forty years of age.

YSA PETROS, A GREEK PRIEST.

The breaking up of the weather here, in the close of this week, interrupted our excursions. I have just made the acquaintance, however, of one of the most interesting characters in this place—Pappas Ysa Petros. He is a priest of the Greek communion: being a native, Arabic is his language. He is married, and has several children. He has already been employed as a translator into Arabic by Mr. Fisk; through whose kindness, two or three tracts have been put into my possession for printing. During a resi-

dence of many years at Damietta, he translated, for an opulent Arab merchant at Damietta, the whole of Rollin's *Ancient History* into Arabic, which it is to be hoped may one day see the light: of this work, he has a small part in his possession, which he shewed us: it is the first rough translation, containing the history of Egypt and Carthage: the whole work occupied him six years. He understands, besides his native language, Greek, Italian, and French; and he has studied Syriac, Ethiopic, and Armenian from his natural love of languages. I have seen no one in Syria, who unites so much simplicity and goodness of disposition, with such a compass of literary acquirements.

It is a curious circumstance with regard to names, that not only is the influence of Mohammedanism manifested in the adoption, by christians, of names not common among their brethren in other countries; but, further, in the name Ysa they have adopted the orthography of the Koran: it is the Mohammedan reading for Jesus.

Sunday, Nov. 30, 1823—We again united with our countryman, in performing divine service in English.

Monday, Dec. 1, 1823—As I was this morning on my way to wait on the Armenian patriarch, I met a courier just come in with letters from Malta. They announce the arrival in Beirout of two more American missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Bird and Goodell, with their families. We were already apprized of their intention to proceed either to Smyrna or Alexandria: but this decisive step has rejoiced our hearts more abundantly than we had anticipated. To Mr. Fisk and myself, they appear to have done exactly the right thing; and the kindness with which they have been received on their landing, by our Consul and his family, has not a little gratified us.

REFLECTIONS ON HOLY PLACES.

In the afternoon I went out of the city, and walked round a considerable part of the walls, so as to obtain a general view of the principal objects.

Educated in an early love of Scripture, I cannot describe the emotions excited by beholding the very scene of the most important events recorded in the Old and New Testaments. I have, designedly, kept myself from attending to the traditionary minutæ which are imposed upon the thousands of annual pilgrims. I envy not those, who, from

ignorance and superstitious subjection, are obliged to receive from the lips of hackneyed guides the trifles of tradition; who can fall down prostrate, and embrace with rapture, the very spot measured to an inch, or the very stone-wall of a house preserved for ten or twenty or thirty centuries, at which some event of Scripture-history is said to have taken place. Good taste and the love of truth alike revolt from the details, which may be collected from many books of travels. This system tends to bring down the mind to trifles: it more often perplexes than throws open the fair path of antiquarian research: and (which is the most painful) it confounds the belief built on sound historical evidence, with that credulity which clings to uncertain tradition; and draws aside the hearts of the multitude of superstitious devotees, from great, essential, and affecting doctrines, to dubious and insignificant localities. I feel it enough to know, that, here, is the hill of Zion—beneath, and all around, are the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the brook Cedron—yonder, the Mount of Olives, and the road to Bethany. The rest must be supplied by a spiritual sense of an ever-present Saviour.

CONVERSATIONS WITH YSA PETROS.

In the evening, we had our friend Pappas Ysa to tea; and conversed concerning his translations into Arabic. He was long employed in this capacity, by Seignior Basil Fakr of Damietta; who, to his extensive commercial engagements, added a very laudable ambition to furnish his library with useful books, translated from European languages into his own. Rollin has been translated into modern Greek; and, from this version, the Arabic translation was made. Another work which Ysa Petros translated was an answer to various infidel objections by Voltaire: I have not heard that any part of the works of Voltaire was ever translated into Arabic; so that a refutation of his opinions, in that language, might seem premature: it may, doubtless, be expected, however, to occupy one day a useful post in the field of religious inquiry—a field which is gradually becoming more and more open to people of every nation.

I was particularly struck with one remark of Ysa Petros on the style of some short sermons which we put into his hands to translate into Arabic. "They are," he observed, "too much in the second person. Thus, 'You are a sinner

—you must repent or perish!" Now the reader," he said, "will naturally ask, 'Who is this, that tells me I am a sinner? Is he not a sinner himself?'" This criticism, intended as a censure, appears to me to be, in some sense, a commendation of the sermons: it shews that they are pointed and awakening; and it amounts, at the same time, to a tacit acknowledgment, that pointed and awakening addresses to the conscience are not in the style of the East. Sermons, in fact, are very rarely preached here; and those are little more than moral treatises, or panegyrics of some saint, or stories of miracles. Ysa Petros, himself, does not preach. He would be astonished to witness the earnestness of multitudes of our English preachers, stirring up sinners to flee from the wrath to come, and urging them to come to Christ for salvation. Perhaps he would say to himself—"They preach as if they thought they were speaking to men who are not christians!"

There are, in Jerusalem, about ten native Greek priests who are married and have families. No one of them comes up to Ysa Petros in acquirements, or in intelligent and philanthropic views. They are far behind. He is much respected by the Superiors of the Greek convent; and is appointed by them to accompany us to-morrow to examine the library of the monastery of the Holy Cross.

MONASTERY OF THE HOLY CROSS.

Tuesday, Dec. 2, 1823—We proceeded, the morning, with our friend, to the monastery of the Holy Cross, which is romantically situated in a valley on the west of the city, between the two roads—that, on the one side, to Jaffa; and that, on the other, to Bethlehem. By leisurely walking, we arrived there in forty minutes. We had to knock loud and long, before we gained attention. The Superior having scanned our appearance from the lattice of an upper window, at length put forth his head, and inquired our errand; after which an order was given for our admission, and we entered, door after door closing with bars and locks behind us. It is in a solitary situation; and is exposed, particularly during the present disturbances in Bethlehem, to the rude demands of the Arabs, who, could they force an entrance, would prove not very courteous guests.

It is a wearisome ceremony, especially when any business presses, to have to receive pipes, sweet-meats, and coffee

Such, however, is the usage; and he would be thought a barbarian, who should decline, in certain circumstances, to receive the compliment. Such discourtesy would have been particularly felt by the Superior of this convent, to whom we were introduced by a letter from the bishop of Nazareth, and who in this solitude seems to have nearly nothing to do.

We were taken over the whole building, which, with several courts to it, may contain sixty or seventy rooms, for the reception of pilgrims. It is at present occupied by this monk, a native of Larissa; and three or four nearly superannuated men, who are employed as domestics, but who seem not to have one idea beyond the walls of the monastery. I remarked, particularly, one of these inmates, who seems, either from want of society or want of employment, to have sunk into a state of almost ideotic vacancy.

This was, originally, an Iberian convent; and, in the spacious but dilapidated church, there is a great number of portraits of Georgian kings and queens, executed in the rudest style on the walls, with inscriptions in the Georgian character. In a recess behind the altar, they shew the ground wherein, as they pretend, grew the tree from which the cross was made on which Christ was crucified: and, that credulity may not want her shew of evidence, or at least her outward visible sign, a small circular hole, of a few inches diameter is exhibited, before which a lighted lamp is suspended; and here the original tree is said to have stood.

In various parts of this extensive, but now deserted establishment, considerable expense has very recently been bestowed, in suitably furnishing iron railings and other accommodations. This was the work of the late Procopius, Superintendent of this Patriarchate. He was a man of great ability and spirit; and he flourished at a time when prosperity filled the Greek coffers with opulent resources. His death, about two years ago, was a serious loss to the Bible Society, whose cause he had heartily espoused.

The library, into which we were after some time introduced, proved to be a small room, full of dust; and so dark, that we were obliged to hold, every one of us, a candle in his hand: the books lay in heaps, some on the floor, the rest on bending shelves. At the beginning of this year, the American missionaries classed them according to languages; and this circumstance has facilitated my researches. There may be four or five hundred volumes of different kinds: the

principal part of these are in the Georgian language, thick folios in manuscript. As I was given to understand that a person from St. Petersburg had visited this convent, and made a selection of such volumes as might be useful to the Bible Society, and as there is not at present in Jerusalem any person who understands this language, I contented myself with obtaining one folio and one quarto. The rest are in Ethiopic, Armenian, Syrian, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. Of the Ethiopic, I made a more copious selection: but, unhappily, these manuscripts are in a mutilated condition; and, excepting Psalters, do not contain much of the Scriptures. The Greek and Latin are few in number, and chiefly printed books.

Just before our leaving the convent, a peasant of the neighborhood called for a pledge which had been left by him. It was a woman's head-dress, made, according to the fashion of the country, of pieces of money; and fitting the head like a close helmet, strapped under the chin by a band of similar texture of coins. As these pieces of money were of the lowest value in circulation, this head-dress might be of the value of 20 or 30 shillings only: but, when of gold, a lady will carry from five to ten pounds' worth upon her head; sometimes much more: and even dirty children, playing in the streets, will be seen with gold pieces about their head-dress, to the value of five or ten shillings.

After the pledge was given, and the man gone, the Superior begged us, on our departure, to take a particular road on the other side of the monastery, lest our visit should be observed; as it might, probably, occasion him to be troubled with questions: such is the state of apprehension and precaution in which they are obliged to live.

ARMENIANS.

Monday, Dec. 4, 1823—Having, a few days ago, sent to the Armenian patriarch a letter of introduction which I had for him, I went, this morning, and had an interview with him. This convent is far more splendid than any other building in Jerusalem; and declares at once the opulence of its possessors. The patriarch himself sits on a divan which is quite princely, and speaks in a slow and dignified manner. He complained of being indisposed; and left his two bishops, who were sitting on the opposite side of the divan, to

support the conversation. Many inquiries and replies of ceremony occupied the first minutes; as also the introduction of coffee, sweets, and wine—the wine of a very great age.

I endeavored, as well as I could, to touch, in geographical order, on those places with which the Armenians have most connexion. They have four patriarchates at present—Echmiazin, Jerusalem, Constantinople and Sis: of these, Echmiazin, in Persia, is the first. To my inquiry, if they enjoyed protection there, they expressed themselves as being in a better state under the Persians than under the Turks. In Calcutta, under British government, they acknowledge, with pleasure, that they have perfect protection. On my prosecuting that topic, one of the bishops sitting opposite to me, whose name I was afterward told is Garabee, said that he had visited Calcutta, about eleven years ago: as this was previous to the arrival of Bishop Middleton in India, I gave them some account of the ecclesiastical establishment now existing there, and the name of the present bishop; and expressed a hope that their churches and ours would become acquainted upon Indian ground.

Printing presses for the Armenian language they have at Constantinople, in Russia, and in Venice. On my mentioning what modern Armenian books I had found in Paris, such as Rollin, Robinson Crusoe, &c. they informed me, that the style of those translations is good. Of the modern version of the New Testament executing in Paris, they had not seen a specimen. With regard to the style of modern Armenian, they recommended the neighborhood of Erivan, rather than Erzerum, where the Armenian is vulgar.

I was particularly desirous to know if they had any communications with Samarcand, or Buckharia; but, after pronouncing these names in every possible way, they could give me no information about the places; and Bishop Garabee said that they travelled to India by way of the Persian Gulph. As they were equally curious to know my motive for asking about those places, I directed their attention to the opinion that many Jews, and probably the Ten Tribes, exist there; which brought up the mention of Mr. Wolff, of whose movements they were much interested to hear.

I was anxious to bring the subject of Abyssinia before them; and inquired if they still kept up the communion with that country, which formerly they had been in the habit of doing; and for which they enjoy a peculiar degree of fa-

cility, from their church holding the same doctrines with the Abyssinian church. They gave little satisfaction on this head: indeed they said, that, at present, they have no intercourse with Abyssinia. I explained my views as well as I could through the interpreter; stating, that, as both England and the Armenians were friends to Abyssinia, and the Armenians peculiarly so, it would give us pleasure if the Armenians, when voyaging to the Red Sea, would assist us in our endeavors to convey the Scriptures to Abyssinia.

I intimated a wish to see their library; but they stated that they had no old or very curious books to shew; and on my more particularly specifying the acts of their councils, the proposal was turned off in a manner that evinced a decided unwillingness to enter on such subjects. Their opinions are, indeed, thus far known—that they admit only the first three general councils, and break off from the Greek church at the fourth; but the subsequent national councils of the Armenians I have not seen. I had a particular wish to see those which relate to the celibacy of the clergy.

The patriarch offered me a room in the convent, which I said that I should gladly have accepted, had I not found one already prepared for me by a friend in Mar Michael. He asked if I wished to see their church: this question, as the servant at the same time came to sprinkle rose-water upon my hands, I took as a polite hint that the conversation had been sufficiently protracted; and, therefore, after an interchange of compliments similar to that at entering, I withdrew.

CHURCH OF THE ARMENIAN CONVENT.

The patriarch's secretary then took me to see the church. It is more splendid than any thing else in Jerusalem, not excepting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, although this latter is considerably larger. The walls of the Armenian church are lined with a kind of glazed Dutch pottery, with pictures of sacred story and Armenian inscriptions upon them. On one side is a small chapel, brilliantly adorned and lighted up, with a picture of St. James's head: the head itself, they say, is in Spain. The convent is dedicated to this apostle, and is built, they say, upon and around the very spot where he was beheaded by order of Herod. On the opposite side is a very large chapel for the females: adjoining to this convent is an Ar-

menian nunnery. On the left-hand, as you face the great altar of the church, is a splendid spacious pulpit; but sermons are not preached here: it is used for the purpose of the customary procession, in which one of the priests or deacons, gorgeously arrayed, and surrounded with many lighted tapers, solemnly ascends the pulpit, and reads, or rather chants, a portion of the Gospel. From the lofty ceiling are suspended many lamps, and also numerous ostrich eggs, which several servants were keeping clean with long bunches of soft feathers. Every thing has an air of Oriental splendor, too glittering and gaudy for our simpler Occidental taste.

While we were wandering here, another bishop entered the church from a side-door. These, with two more whom I subsequently saw in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, make, in addition to the patriarch, five bishops. I had been informed that there are fourteen in all. They are not constantly residing here, but occasionally visit the other monasteries; of which, in the Holy Land, there are four—namely, this one within the city, one just without the walls, one at Bethlehem, and one at Rama; besides the adjoining nunnery in the city.

JEWS.

Friday, Dec. 5, 1823—A little before noon, we called on Rabbi Mendel a Jewish rabbi, of some consideration on account of his talmudical learning. There is frequent mention of him in Mr. Wolff's Journals. He had, at his side, a volume of the Talmud; and he is greatly in repute for his skill in these works.

It is, in myself, a mixed feeling of inability and disinclination to enter upon such studies, which restrains me from taking up the question with the Jews on that ground. Mr. Wolff, who is not destitute of the ability, yet latterly has grown—and I think it a more likely way for success—disinclined to argue with them from the Talmud; but presses on them the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel. He did, indeed, procure a Jew to sift out of the Talmud all passages in favor of christianity; and, in the course of their research, they also found, among these writings, many passages so absurd, that the Jews themselves do not like to have them produced. But the detection of these absurdities does not much aid the cause of truth: men can bear

a great deal of absurdity to be proved against them, and against their party or system, without changing sides; and, frequently, the more we point out partial weaknesses or errors, the more tenaciously do they cling to their own opinion. Mr. Wolff has latterly told them, that is, during his second visit to Jerusalem, that, unless they quit the Talmud, it is impossible that they should "think straight." *Thinking straight* has evident reference to some straight rule of opinion; and this rule is *the Law and the Testimony*. From what I can learn concerning the disputes and studies of the rabbies of Jerusalem—with whom I am unable to converse much, from not knowing German—they seem to be men *ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.*

OPPRESSIONS SUFFERED BY THE JEWS.

In addition to a certain wild abstracted gaze, which nature and talmudical studies have given to the countenance of Rabbi Mendel, he was further suffering from terror, the impression of which was not yet effaced from his mind; he having been, about a week before, forcibly seized in the night, and carried off to prison by order of the new governor. The pretext alleged was, that his street-door had been left open in the night: for this he was compelled to pay a heavy fine of three purses; about 37*l.* sterling. The officer, who apprehended him, burst with violence into his inner chamber—waked him—spurned all his protestations of his having European protection—he having an Austrian firman; and, forthwith, took him, his disciple Rabbi Isaac, and two others to the prison, from which, after twenty-four hours' confinement and the payment of the fine, they were set at liberty. He was proposing to go for relief to the consul at Acre: from the Austrian consul at Tiberias he expected nothing, as that gentleman, himself a Jew, probably finds it as much as he can do to secure protection for his own declining old age. Rabbi Mendel preferred going, in person, to writing: for if it were known in Jerusalem that he had written, it would subject him to fresh insults or exactions. How truly is that threat accomplished—*Thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life!* (Dent. xxviii. 66.) The money was, clearly, the sole motive for this proceeding—a new governor, in this devoted city, generally

making his advances, by rapid steps, first to the Jews, next to the Greeks and Armenians, and finally to the Latins. Nor have these any appeal: their only relief is, by cunning and intrigue, to throw the burden as much as possible upon the shoulders of their neighbors; or to plead their inability to meet the demands of the governor, who always begins by bidding high. The parties from whom the demand is made being either put in prison or otherwise annoyed, part of their policy is to endure as long as nature can bear the unjust infliction; thus proving, by their willingness to suffer, their inability to pay.

The other party of the Jews, the Sephartim, being much more numerous, were soon obliged to pay a much larger sum. Four of their principal men were, during these days, thrown into prison; from which they were not released till the bargain was adjusted. Some, whom we inquired after, had secreted themselves in their neighbors' houses.

JEWISH PLACE OF WEEPING.

Rabbi Isaac conducted us to see an interesting spot, to which the Jews frequently resort on the afternoon of Friday. It is on the outer side of the wall of the mosque of Omar. Within the area which surrounds the mosque none may enter, under pain of death, unless he becomes a Mohammedan: but, at a particular part of the outside of the surrounding buildings, the Jews have the permission, for which they pay money, to assemble every Friday, to pray. There were only eight while we were there; but at a later hour, probably, there would be more. On other occasions, they are numerous: but the measures of the new governor have thrown them into consternation, so that they are not so forward to shew themselves. I observed, as we passed through the Jew quarter—and upon many faces, in most parts of Jerusalem—a timid expression of countenance, called in Scripture *a pining away*: with a curiosity that desires to know every thing concerning a stranger, there is, at the same time, a slinking away from the curiosity of others. We stood awhile with the worshippers at this spot; which they regard as close to the place, where, in ancient times, the Shechinah was: and, though the glory of the Lord has departed, they still venerate the place where He once manifested His presence. To worship here must be the summit of their desires: it seems to be somewhat in the

spirit of David's vow, *In thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple.*

We particularly observed the strength of this part of the wall. It is built of large and well-hewn stones: one of the largest of these I measured, and found it to be eight and a half feet English by three and a half. Of these, there are nine tiers; out of which seven seem to be of the above-mentioned thickness of three feet and a half, the uppermost two being a little narrower. The wall runs up still further about twenty feet: but this upper part is built of smaller stones; giving, as the whole height, about fifty feet. It is not to be supposed that these larger stones are of the date of Solomon's temple: but it seems by no means unlikely, that they should have composed part of the second temple; and that, after having been thrown down, so that not one of them stood upon another, they have been subsequently collected as fit for building. They are in fact far more superb than what any other part of the city can boast; excepting those portions of the wall which face toward the east, and which are built of similar large stones. It was concerning some of these, probably, that the disciples remarked, *Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here!* They are, independently of the contrast with the meaner buildings of the city, such as in any spot would excite admiration, at the skill and labor which must have been bestowed on them.

OPPRESSIONS SUFFERED BY THE GREEKS.

Having mentioned the oppressions suffered by the Jews, I will add an instance of a similar kind inflicted on the Greeks; premising that it is only a specimen of what they are continually liable to suffer, and actually do suffer.

A few days after our arrival, a Greek, who occupied the next room to ours in the convent, suddenly disappeared: so also did another young man belonging to the convent; and likewise a Greek, who passes for a physician in the city. In a few days, we learnt that they were in prison: from whence, after remaining there eight days, they were released on the payment of money; and we heard the story from themselves when at liberty. The charge, on which they were committed, was, their having aided in ransoming a Greek girl of Crete from a Turk in whose possession she was: on the arrival of the new governor

this was laid hold of as a pretext for imprisonment and further exaction. The one who lived next to us was persecuted, even after his liberation, by the officers; three of whom beset his door for the payment of 60 piastres (about 1*l.* 10*s.* sterling) alleged to be due to them—the first for putting on his irons, the second for taking them off, and the third for bringing him his food in the prison. These claims he endeavored to elude, by retiring, in the day-time, to another house. He was preparing, also, to escape, as soon as possible, into Egypt.

TRACT, BY THE AUTHOR, ON THE HOLY SPIRIT.

This evening Pappas Ysa sat with me some time while I described to him the plan of a tract which I am writing on the subject of the Holy Spirit. I read parts of it to him, and requested his opinion. He seemed surprised, I thought, that I should be writing such a tract. Probably few persons in the Levant apprehend, as yet, how well their condition is understood in England, or how much we feel interested in their opinions and customs; especially how much we take to heart the corruptions which the great enemy has succeeded in introducing into their churches. On the other hand, possibly, some of my friends also at home might be surprised, did they know that a large part of my time is spent in Jerusalem in the writing of this tract. They would say, "Leave sedentary composition for your return to Malta: abroad, be in constant motion." Every one must, in these things, be, in a considerable degree, a rule to himself. I have already made the attempt, but without success, in Malta. One of the objects which I proposed, therefore, to execute during my present tour, was to write this tract, while surrounded by the scenes to which it has reference. I have, in the course of its preparation, availed myself of the friendly suggestions and criticisms of all my missionary brethren on the spot: and they are not a few.* I have also communicated various ideas on the subject to natives, and have watched the course of their remarks: it is interesting to observe what ideas chiefly affect their imagination: one topic most caught the attention of my present auditor—"Kings will rule in righteousness and subjects

* The number of missionaries, who have visited this land within the compass of less than one year, has been eight. Of these, I have had the benefit of free and full conversation with all, except one.

obey with cheerfulness." "Ah!" he said, "if there were a good government to protect christianity, something might be hoped!" He also expressed his apprehensions that the great efforts now making for the dissemination of religious knowledge might last for only a time; and, after having done some good, languish—leaving the world to relapse into its old course. He was perfectly open and ingenuous in his expressions and manner. He deeply impressed me with the conviction, that there must be something higher than human wisdom and resolution to sustain here the hopes and measures of christian men.

POPULATION OF JERUSALEM.

Rabbi Mendel is a principal Rabbi among the sect of the Ashkenasim, or Polish Jews; who, at present, are but very few in number in Jerusalem. The Sephartim, or Spanish Jews, have long been established here; and are said to have six or seven hundred houses. It is difficult, from this statement, to suppose that the Jews should amount to more than five thousand: but it is no part of their system, or of the system of the other religious bodies, to shew their numbers. Admitting this, however, to be near the truth, if then, somewhat more than five thousand should be given to the Mussulmans, and somewhat less than five thousand to the Christians, it would give fifteen thousand for the population of Jerusalem; which is the very greatest amount of population that I should be inclined to give to this city, from observing its area from the Mount of Olives. It has, indeed, been rated at twenty thousand, and even higher. I should think that fifteen thousand was too high; and should not be very unwilling to rate it at twelve thousand. In this calculation, of course the pilgrims are omitted—who are crowded into the convents, and fill up many spaces which are vacant nine months in the year, augmenting the population by some few thousands.

• CÆSARIUS, A GREEK ECCLESIASTIC.

Sunday, Dec. 7, 1823—In the afternoon, we had a long and interesting conversation with a young Greek ecclesiastic, named Cæsarius. He is very intelligent, and very desirous of general knowledge. The conversation was entirely on religion; and gradually came to subjects con-

cerning which the Romish and the Oriental churches are accustomed to speak very positively—the washing away of original sin in baptism; and the identity of baptism and regeneration. Scripture was the standard to which we constantly appealed. Of each proposition we carefully inquired, “Where does God, in his word, declare this?” The effect produced on the mind of our visitor was, apparently, an abatement of the self-confident, and an increase of the inquiring, spirit. The passage at which he principally seemed to be at check was 1 Pet. iii, 21. After watching and assisting the turn of the discussion for about an hour, I left him with Mr. Fisk, who was holding him close to Scripture—the only method likely to succeed; for should we wander on the ground of the authority of the Fathers, it would probably be only to prove these fallible writers guilty of mutual contradictions, and sometimes of inconsistency even with themselves.

CONVERSATION WITH THE BISHOP OF NAZARETH.

Monday, Dec. 8—I went, in the course of the afternoon, to see the bishop of Nazareth, Daniel, on the subject of the manuscripts at the convent of the holy cross. The books which I selected for more particular examination are brought into the city, and will be delivered on my sending for them.

The bishop was inquisitive to know of what rite my servant was. I gladly availed myself of the opportunity of explaining to him in what light I regarded these differences. The youth, I told him, is by profession, of the Latin church: but I did not, on taking him into my service, inquire into that matter; but merely desired him, in the morning and evening, to come to us, when we read the bible and pray together: to which he never made the least objection; but, on the contrary, seems to be pleased with it.

The bishop was very attentive, and spoke little; so that, as I feared to appear to trespass on his feelings, the conversation was often suspended. Indeed I thought I perceived a great degree of dejection on his countenance.

Presently, it being three o'clock, our attention was roused by the voice of the Mowadden from one of the minarets, calling the Mohammedans to their usual prayers of that hour. The bishop mournfully turned to me, and exclaimed, *Εως πότε*; “How long?” His few and simple words quite

sunk into my heart. I said it was truly painful to hear that voice in the holy city; and that I viewed with sincere sympathy the present distresses which they suffer. "Our sins!" he slowly replied, "The measure of our punishment is not yet filled up!" I could only assent by the motion of my head.

I then acquainted him that I was writing a tract, in which I wished to address his nation in as consolatory a manner as I could; but added, "It will not all of it be consolatory." He plainly took my meaning, as one who saw that it was impossible to speak, agreeably to truth, of a suffering nation, without also saying something concerning their sins. Yet I never felt more, than I did at this interview, a desire to address them with tenderness; and that verse (Isaiah, l. 4) was brought with fresh feeling into my memory, *The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I might speak a word in season to him that is weary.* How difficult to do this! It is easy to chide, with justice; but it is a high attainment, learned only in the school of suffering, to reprove with a merciful spirit. Neither may we rebuke an elder; and the tract must speak to many bishops and dignitaries, whom I am bound rather to entreat as fathers.

To his expression, which he would ever and anon sigh forth—"How long! Lord, how long!"—I, at length, made some reply, drawn from the interpretation of prophecy. He listened with great interest; for on no topic is it more easy to gain an eager ear in the east, than on the mysterious and unknown future. I limited myself, however, to general allusions to the period of 1260 years, now apparently drawing to its close; and endeavored to exhibit, also, some of those *signs of the times*, which indicate the approach of an important crisis—particularly mentioning the Bible Society, and the system of general education. As I described the convulsions which shake the continent of Europe from the West to the East, he mentioned the affairs of Spain as being settled; and seemed, therefore, to infer, that no good had resulted from that movement. After noticing that the revolutions in the West had been conducted very much by men who disbelieve the christian religion, I asked whether it might not be part of a merciful dispensation, not to suffer such men to attain all that they grasp at, lest they should overthrow christianity. He entered into this view; and seemed fully sensible, that change, without christian principle, was always to be mistrusted. I seized the moment to press again the unspeakable advantage of

the labors of the Bible Society—filling the world with divine light, at the moment when the nations appear restless for innovation. On this topic, it is peculiarly grateful to find the Greek church favorable.

I retired from this interview with spirits unusually depressed. I had felt, throughout the whole conversation, that my heart was drawn in contrary directions—on the one hand, by emotions of pity for these suffering Orientals; and, on the other, by a view, every day augmenting, of their sinful blindness and unchristian superstitions. While humanity pleads for them; christian faithfulness cannot acquit them as innocent.

REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

On reaching home, I unburdened my heart; and could not help exclaiming, "I have not spent one happy day in Jerusalem!" My missionary brother readily sympathized with me.

How can it be otherwise than a matter of constant sorrow, to contemplate the state of things here?

The convents are either suffering, or expecting to suffer, continual extortions. Were some maddening intelligence of successful operations of the Greeks to arrive here, it is not unlikely that the Turks might be exasperated to such a degree, as to rise and massacre numbers of christians.

The christians themselves, instead of being in any sense united, seem to watch for one anothers' halting; and the centre, round which their petty politics revolve, is the possession of some holy place. Under color of reverence for the great mysteries of redemption, they have here established a metropolis, as it were, of lucrative will-worship, and of most plausible tyranny over the minds of devotees. It is in this that the spiritual christian discerns the secret cause of the divine judgments upon them.

The doctrine of the merit of pilgrimages has, for nearly fifteen hundred years, been the standing order of the christians of Jerusalem. Yet of the deep-rooted error of this system, who are so insensible as the ecclesiastics themselves? Probably in reading the Lamentations—still, in many points, most pathetically applicable to Jerusalem—they would appropriate this verse as depicting their state—*The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts.* This, in a literal sense, is exactly the

case at present. During the last years, since the Greek revolution, the Greeks have had no pilgrims: they dare not, cannot come: of those who came in 1821, when the late Mr. Parsons was at Jerusalem, many, on their return homeward, perished in consequence of the general massacres; and there were probably very few, who were able to find a safe asylum from the Turks. To the Latin convent, also, not many individuals now make pilgrimages; and pecuniary remittances seldom come from Europe, in consequence of the troubles in Spain and Naples. The Armenians alone, at present, prosper.

These are the afflictions of the convents; and they see not, that, by these judgments, God is marking His displeasure against the whole system of monasticism and the whole traffic of pilgrimages. From none should we have so reluctant an acknowledgment of this, as from the ecclesiastics, who manage the springs of these systems: they would probably confess any thing or every thing about them to be sinful, rather than monasticism and pilgrimages; and, to give up the sanctity of Jerusalem, would be to them like renouncing the faith of the Gospel.

While these fundamental and long-standing corruptions of the Romish and Oriental churches remain in force, they will never discern what is the voice of God against them: their very sufferings (it is melancholy to think) will harden, rather than soften them; for they will not attain to an enlightened, unfeigned, and unreserved humiliation. No verse in the Lamentations has affected me so much as this—*Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee: and they have not discovered their iniquity to turn away thy captivity; but have seen for thee FALSE BURDENS and CAUSES OF BANISHMENT.* When and how will the prophets, themselves, be brought to acknowledge their iniquity, and their fraud? Or how will they be induced to abdicate that illegitimate power, which they possess over ignorant minds?

The more the circumstances of Jerusalem are reflected upon, the more they wound the heart. They may be well represented thus:—The Latins live by remittances from Spain and other Roman-catholic powers—the Greeks and Armenians, by the contributions of the pilgrims—the Jews, by collections made in all the world, and by alms brought by devotees of their religion—the Turk, in the midst of them, by exacting money from all. There is a little common traffic in the city and neighborhood, but very little stir

or activity. Foreign purses are the resource to which they principally look: when these fail, they pine and murmur.*

If any should doubt on what their hearts are principally set, he might ask within himself—"On what account would these people chiefly desire the restoration of the Levant to peace and order? or for what reason would they wish to see the christians gain the upper hand? Would it be, that they might extend the faithful preaching of the pure Gospel? Or would it not be, that the numerous pilgrims might flock, with augmented enthusiasm, to repair the pecuniary desolations inflicted by the present war?"

It is, in fact, a most remarkable feature in the present distresses, that the current of extortion sets in with especial violence on the convents; and, consequently, on the whole monastic system. The monasteries, supposed to be the depositories of treasure, attract the cupidity of the Turks. And, should the present system of exaction be long protracted, it must inevitably prove the extinction of the resources of the convents; and consequently, in the end, the ruin of the monastic system. Rapacious tyranny merits our indignation, and individual sufferings claim our pity; but, in such an event—the extinction, I mean, of the monastic system—reason, decorum, nature, christianity, would all exult. Nor does it appear to human calculation in any way probable, that such a system will be relinquished, except from the severe and compulsory chastisements of a Divine Hand.

An expression, which, a few days ago, I met with in a work of the learned Asseman, not a little excited my feelings on this subject. His words to which I allude are—"But when the monastic system had been propagated throughout all the East—" He is, in that paragraph, extolling the benefit of monasticism: but no complacency passed over my mind while I pursued his remarks—indignation rather, to think that so unnatural a system has been so extensively and for so many ages propagated in the world.

Such was the train of my feelings, as I took my evening walk upon the terrace of the convent, with my face often turned toward the Mount of Olives. Many conflicting emotions passed through my breast, excited by what I perpetually see and hear in these countries and in this city. And Oh! if in the midst of these people we could find some who

* "The city is without trade, and consequently exceedingly poor. Its principal revenue consists in the profit gained from the pilgrims."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* Vol. I. p. 420.

might, spiritually, be said to *mourn in Zion*, with what delight should we rather speak of that *garment of praise*, which should be given them in place of the *spirit of heaviness*! But when, so far as we see, there is none that *stirreth up himself to lay hold on God*, what rescue is left? The heart is ready to sink under the awful apprehension, that, where truth has so long failed of obtaining admission, judgment must enter; and, where men will not tear up their rooted errors of more than a thousand years' standing, probably the desolations of war may be sent, as the only effectual instrument to abolish inveterate and beloved evils.

JEWS IN ABYSSINIA.

Monday, Dec. 10, 1823—In the course of the evening, Rabbi Isaac called; with another young Jew, who has travelled as far as London. They assume this title "Rabbi" at so very early an age, that it surprises a person who has been accustomed to connect it with the idea of venerable years and learning. They marry also extremely young.

The Abyssinian priest coming in, we obtained a little information concerning the condition of the Jews in his country. He stated that there are many in Gondar—a few in Samen; and he had heard, but could not declare it from having been there, that, at Kuarka, the Jews are very numerous—that the inhabitants are nearly all Jews. I had hitherto understood, that, in Abyssinia, Jews were only to be found in Gondar, where they are known by the name of Falasha. He gave some account of the rigor with which they attend to certain ceremonial purifications, in a manner more severe than is practised even by the Jews of Jerusalem: this rigor was highly applauded by the Jews present: it had particular relation to the treatment of females.

We gave Rabbi Isaac a Hebrew and an Arabic New-Testament. On my wishing to point out to him Stephen's sermon in Acts vii. and particularly the application of it at verse 51, he was so fearful of my taking the books from him, that he would not let me have them to shew him the place. I therefore looked for another copy and referred him to the page.

Thursday, Dec. 11, 1823—We called on Ysa Petros, and found him surrounded with papers, translations, &c. He evinces a general love of knowledge, and a desire to communicate knowledge. Besides several maps drawn by his

own hand, and with the names of places in Arabic, he has made some small globes celestial and terrestrial, the workmanship being entirely his own.

MOSQUE OF OMAR.

We, afterward, waited on the governor. The approach to his residence, the residence itself, and the aspect of his court, are all so destitute of what would be expected from his station, that I forbear to describe them. He asked some questions, which were far from courteous: being answered with reserve and distance on our part, he suddenly became very complaisant, repeated the compliment of sherbet, pressed us not to hurry away, and spoke of the hospitality due to strangers. The only favor which we had to ask of him, was permission to go on the roof of his house, which overlooks the mosque of Omar, the Sakkara el Aksa, and the surrounding spacious area of which his house forms one side. As we were the first since his new government who have asked this, he had to inquire of his attendants whether it was *Adet* (custom). Being answered in the affirmative, he gave us leave, and we went up.

Here we had a view of this very interesting spot; within which had we set our foot, the penalty must have been either death or the embracing of the Mohammedan faith. Can any thing be more absurd, unjust, or harshly oppressive? Let insult offered to any, even the most absurd religion, suffer condign punishment: but is it possible that the followers of Mohammed can be gratified by such an extorted conversion to their faith; or thirst for the blood of a man, who shall, in a moment of temerity, have touched the mere earthly precincts of one of their sanctuaries? We availed ourselves of the moment, attentively to survey the solemn scene before us—where, once, that wonder and praise of the whole earth, Solomon's temple, stood. The ample area is, in some parts, covered with turf: in others, the bare rock shews itself; and a few scattered trees scarcely suffice to give it the title of picturesque. The dome of the mosque is a truly noble specimen of taste; but, pressing too low upon the subjacent part of the structure, it overwhelms the symmetry of the whole: it is, in fact, best viewed at a distance, when it is seen apart from the lower building with which it is connected, and standing pre-eminent for beauty among the buildings of the city—a pre-emin-

ence, however, diminished by its mournful defect in moral beauty. Here, they of the captivity in Ezra's days, *priests and levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men that had seen the first house, wept with a loud voice* on beholding the inferiority of the second. Here, the Hebrew and the christian may now, also, mingle their tears over the violation of the true faith. Here, are neither the holy precepts of the law nor the inviting promises of the Gospel, to dignify or to endear the place. This splendid edifice, surmounted with the crescent, serves only to exhibit to all the world this desecrated spot, as a central monument of divine vengeance. It may, spiritually, be called *an abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, where it ought not.*

In the afternoon of this day, we waited on the two Epi-tropi of the Greek convent, in order to speak with them on the subject of the Apocryphal books of Scripture. We had a very explicit conversation on this topic, in which Daniel chiefly engaged: his colleague, Agios Petras, being very feeble from the effects of his late fever, and not manifesting any particular turn for theological discussion. They will send to us, from their library, the acts of the Seven General Councils, which may assist us in our present inquiries.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Friday, Dec. 12, 1823—We went, this morning, to see the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The sight which meets the eye immediately upon entering, as most incongruous to the idea of a christian place of worship, is a party of Turks sitting on the left-hand, taking their ease on the divan, smoking, and watching every pilgrim who passes, that they may not loose their fee.

The first sacred object to which the attention is attracted, is the stone of unction, as it is called; being a splendid slab, laid over the spot where the body of our Lord was washed and anointed and shrouded, previous to its interment: here, devotees were prostrating themselves, and kissing the stone.

On the right-hand, having ascended a flight of stairs, we entered the chapel of the crucifixion: the spot where the cross stood is shewn under the altar: and, in a chapel underneath, is shewn, very dimly, the figure of the rock; concerning which, Maundrell and other travellers have related the tradition of Adam's skull having been found there, when the rock was miraculously rent.

On the east side of the church is the chapel of the Greeks; who, having borne the principal share of the expense (if not the whole) of repairing the church after a fire which, in 1808, broke out and consumed a considerable part of it, have repaid themselves by keeping possession of by far the largest and handsomest portion of the building. Their chapel and high altar are decked with very shewy pictures of saints, after the Oriental fashion; that is, almost without any regard to perspective.

Passing behind the screen which separates their high altar from the wall of the church, there is a wide semicircular passage; from which there is, on the right hand, a descent, by many steps, to St. Helena's chapel, and the chapel of the spot where she is related to have found the cross.

At the northern extremity of this passage is the portion assigned to the Latins. Their chapel is very far from splendid: it seems, indeed, dim and gloomy. One or two devotees I observed passing a cane through a grate, and touching with it some stone or other object out of their reach; then withdrawing the cane, and kissing the extremity which had touched the holy relic within: thus, virtue is transfused from the relic to the cane, and from the cane to the lips of the devotee!

Returning to the body of the church, we approached the Holy Sepulchre, which is placed a little north of the centre. It is covered by a small building, which has the appearance of a church in miniature. The entrance is by a small door, to pass through which it is necessary to stoop low; and, in an instant, the visitor finds himself in a small chamber, not seven feet long, and allowing just space for two persons to pass each other between the wall and the tomb. The tomb, as I measured it, is six-feet-and-a-quarter long, three wide, and two-feet-and-a-quarter high. Many splendid lamps, diffusing an oppressive heat, were hanging above this venerated spot. The tomb itself is white marble, and designates only the *PLACE where the Lord lay*. A priest stood at the upper part of this small chamber, continually sprinkling rose-water upon the tomb, which shed a faint perfume around. While we were gazing on this spot, two or three devotees came in, knelt, kissed the marble, crossed themselves many times, and moved their lips as in prayer. Our singularity, no doubt, was remarked by them, as we remained standing: but while we have no desire to offend their feelings, we have also no objection to their knowing that

Protestants regard these ceremonies, as being vain in the sight of God, and detrimental to the simplicity of the gospel. I feel, moreover, that it would be difficult for me to rise in this place to the spirit of devotion. The fulsome pageantry of the scene must be first removed: the ground of Mount Calvary, now encumbered with convents, churches, and houses, and disguised by splendid altars, gaudy pictures, and questionable relics, must be cleared, and left a simple unadorned spot of nature: less precision in pointing out the scene of each portion of sacred story must be assumed: and, above all, this bustle of ecclesiastical apparatus must utterly vanish; and the dishonoring remembrance be blotted out of the mind, that, to this spot, for so many centuries, ignorance and superstition have sent their millions of votaries, on an unwarranted message. It is this last mentioned circumstance, principally, which has rendered my view of this place often a source of the deepest melancholy.

MOUNT OF OLIVES.

If, however, the heart desire the solace of some holy reminiscences, these may still be enjoyed, pure and native, as the eye turns toward Mount Olivet. There, no violence, or none that merits notice, has been done to the simplicity of the scene.

In pursuance of our plan, we took horses, immediately on leaving the church of the sepulchre, to visit all the neighborhood of the Mount of Olives. Leaving the city by the gate of Jaffa, we wound our course round by the north-west angle of the walls, passed the gate of Damascus which is on the north, and then began to descend into the vale of the brook Cedron. The aspect of all this spot has been already described. We crossed the brook, passed the Garden of Gethsemane, and began to ascend the Mount of Olives somewhat to the left of the direct path to its summit. The advantage gained by this was, that, by reaching a point a little north-west of this summit, we had a more extensive view of the Dead Sea, of the immense irregular ravine which leads to it commencing at the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and of the distant plains and mountains of Moab. As I glanced over these devoted waters, the passage of Scripture instantaneously came into my mind—*Suffering the vengeance of eternal fire!* In the midst of our enjoyment of scriptural antiquity, we may not screen from our view the

awful memorials, which ever and anon present themselves: all the surrounding country seems endeared by the remembrance of innumerable acts of Divine mercy: but what we now see reminds me, that *God is a God of judgment*; and Scripture leaves the mind in no doubt, as to the present sufferings and the eternal doom of the inhabitants of this once fertile, plain of Jordan. After gazing some minutes on the immense prospect, and vainly musing which point in the line of the Mountains of Moab (for there are only a few very slightly-elevated points) might be that Pisgah-top from which Moses was permitted to see this Land of Promise, we set forward to reach the top of Mount Olivet. Here is a small village, so inconsiderable as not to spoil the aspect of the mountain from Jerusalem. Among these poor buildings is a small Oratory, in the centre of which is exhibited the spot, which, as they say, was the last touched by the foot of our Saviour before the moment of His ascension! Let that pass: and let us forget that meddling, microscopic tradition has thus intruded on the sublimest of all earthly scenes—the type of that more awful scene, to be unfolded in the last day, when every eye shall see the Redeemer coming again, in like manner as he was once seen, in yonder very sky above me, ascending into heaven.

VIEW OF JERUSALEM FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

Having alighted at this village, we advanced a little way into the adjacent fields; and, sheltering ourselves beside one of the olive-trees from the west wind which blew sharply, we enjoyed a fuller prospect of the city, every part of which lies plain before the view from this eminence. The whole of Jerusalem seems like one continuous hill, standing out singly from the midst of the surrounding mountains. To the north, east, and south, it is surrounded by the deep valley, which, in its various parts, has, at different times, borne the names of the Brook of Cedron, the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Tophet, and Gehinnom. On the west, the ground adjacent to the walls is, comparatively speaking, level ground; but these walls, on the western part, take in a considerable number of habitations which did not belong to the city, and did not in fact exist, in the most ancient times. They include Bezetha and Mount Calvary. Bezetha was added in the time of Herod and Pilate; and Mount Calvary, which now groans beneath the weight of monastic piles,

was probably open ground, cultivated for gardens, (John xix. 41) at the time when He who *suffered without the gate* (Heb. xiii. 12) there *poured out his soul unto death*. It is not difficult to conceive, observing from this spot the various undulations and slopes of the ground, that, when Mount Zion, Acra, and Mount Moriah constituted the bulk of the city with a deep and steep valley surrounding the greater part of it, it must have been considered by the people of that age as nearly impregnable. It stands *Beautiful for situation!*—words which have perpetually burst from my lips as I have surveyed all the surrounding scenery, and this unique, crowning centre of the whole. It is, indeed, *builded as a city, that is compact together* (Ps. cxii. 3.) *The kings of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world, would not have believed that the adversary and the enemy should have entered into the gates of Jerusalem!* (Lam. iv. 12. B. C. 588.) This was said nearly two thousand four hundred years ago. And when, 650 years after, Titus besieged and took this devoted city, he exclaimed, on viewing the vast strength of the place, “We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war; and it was no other than God, who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications: for what could the hands of men, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers?”*

PROBABLE SCENE OF THE ASCENSION.

We resumed our ride: descending by a rather steep declivity eastward, we lost sight of Jerusalem; and had, on our right, the slope of the mountain, beneath or on the sides of which the direct path leads from Jerusalem to Bethany. To this interesting village we were now directing our steps. It is somewhere on this retired side of Mount Olivet, out of view of the busy city, that I should be inclined to place the scene of the Ascension; for it is said (Luke xxiv. 50, 51) that our Lord led His disciples out as far as to Bethany, and then was parted from them, and carried up into heaven. The previous conversation, as related in the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles (ch. i. 6—9) would, probably, occupy some time while walking toward Bethany; for we must not judge of the length of our Lord’s discourses by the brevity with which the Evangelists record them. Here, the last sparks of earthly ambition were extinguished in the bosoms of the apostles; and they were prepared to

* Josephus: B. vi. ch. 9.

expect that purer fire, which was ere long to burst forth upon the day of Pentecost. Here, their Head was taken from them; and two of the ministering spirits of his train, becoming visible to their eyes, interrupted their mute astonishment, and dismissed them to their proper stations.* Returning from this place to Jerusalem, the disciples would announce to Mary the mother of Jesus, and his brethren, and all the disciples—*“Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more! It is to the promise of his Spirit that we must now look: that Spirit will be given not many days hence, and will abide with us for ever!”*

In these reflections, and on this sequestered spot, I feel a more pure delight, than I could possibly attain in the tumultuous throng of worshippers, who crowd the church of the sepulchre. Here, silence and retirement, and the dreary grandeur of the mountains before me, and the mild glory of the heavens above, all conspire to soften and elevate the affections. When I remember, in future days, my visit to this unadorned solitude, I would endeavor to associate with it the spirit of those words—*“If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.”* (Col. iii, 1—4.) Here, therefore, memory shall exhibit to my mind the scene of the ascension!†

BETHANY.

After a short half-hour's ride from the summit of the Mount of Olives, we arrived at the little village which bears the name of Bethany, now a miserable cluster of mud

* Mount Olivet is a term which applies to an extensive region of eminences all round, and not to any one point only; on the same principle as that noticed under the head of Nazareth. (See p. 139.) The specified distance, therefore—a *Sabbath day's journey*—is applicable to many spots of this place.

† The remarks of bishop Hall, in his *Contemplations on the Resurrection*, may very properly be introduced in this place. “There may be a kind of carnality in spiritual actions. If, O Saviour, we have heretofore known thee after the flesh, henceforth know we thee so no more. That thou livedst here, in this shape, that color, this stature: that habit, I should be glad to know; nothing that concerns thee can be unuseful. Could I say, ‘Here thou satest; here thou layest; here, and thus, thou wert crucified; here, buried; here, settest thy last foot!’ I should, with much contentment, see and recount these memorials of thy presence: but, if I shall so fasten my thoughts upon these, as not to look higher, to the spiritual part of thine achievements, to the power and issue of thy resurrection, I am never the better.” *Bp. Hall's Works*, vol. II. p. 611.

hovels. We were, first, shewn the grave of Lazarus. We had to descend many steps to see it, as it is now considerably beneath the ground: it does not correspond with the idea formed in the mind from reading John xi, 38. On going round the village, one ruined house was pointed out, as the site of the house of Mary and Martha.

We thought to take our repast here; but as the wind was blowing keenly, and threatened rain, we went into the adjacent field, and spread our carpet under one of the most beautiful and luxuriant olive trees that I ever beheld. The field was full of such trees. I had never, from what I have seen of innumerable olive-groves in various countries, conceived it possible for this tree to attain such richness and beauty. The soil all round must be peculiarly adapted to their growth; and their flourishing aspect bespeaks also the hand of careful culture. We were surrounded, during our repast, by the sheik, and other men with the children of the village, who kept a respectful silence while we ate, and afterward thankfully received what we spared for them. Our party was now suddenly broken up by a heavy fall of rain.

We set off to return to Jerusalem, by the nearest path; that, probably, described by St. Luke in the Gospel, chapter xix. verses 28—44. The scene seems, in fact, to verify itself: as you wind round the side of the mountain, and come almost suddenly in view of the city, it needs no guide to say, "This must have been the spot, where, as our Saviour came near to Jerusalem, he beheld the city, and wept over it!"

We were soon thoroughly wetted by the rain; but, as it began afterward to intermit a little, we were induced to pursue our original intention of going completely through the valley surrounding the city.

VINEYARDS AND FLOCKS NEAR JERUSALEM.

I only further noticed of the view eastward, that, though the rocky country toward the Dead Sea, both northward and southward of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, must evidently have been at all times very unproductive of corn, yet it possesses the two qualities essential to the accomplishment of Jacob's benediction to Judah. I was led to this remark by passing through some well-cultivated vineyards, the produce of which furnishes Jerusalem with excellent wines.

Along the sides of these hills, also, we continually see flocks and herds: the sheep and goats in the immediate vicinity of the city have a very picturesque appearance, as they are slowly driven into Jerusalem just before sunset, after which the gates are shut; and from their milk a great part of the support of the inhabitants is derived. Thus, when this seemingly unpromising soil was cultivated in perfection, it would answer exactly to the promise given to the tribe of Judah—*Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes: his eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.** Gen. xlix. 11, 12.

Descending into the Vale of Cedron, and crossing the brook, at this time dry, we made our course again westward, that we might pass by the east and south side of the city, and enter at the western or Jaffa gate, from which we had originally set out. We passed by the Jewish burying-ground, south-east of the city.

POOL OF SILOAM.

A little further we came to the Pool of Siloam, *whose waters go softly*: they have a current; but it is almost imperceptible. I alighted to descend more than twenty steps, and taste the waters of this fountain, at which, in ancient times, the Jews were wont to celebrate a festival, singing the twelfth chapter of Isaiah. May they, once again, sing aloud on this spot—*O Lord, though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me. Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation.†*

On the other side of the projecting hill, after passing under ground two or three hundred feet or thereabouts,

* Jebus, afterward called Jerusalem, properly belonged to the tribe of Benjamin; and the lot of Judah began on the south side of the Valley of Hinnom. (Joshua xv. 8. and xviii. 16, 28.) But as this character of the soil applies equally to the country south of Jerusalem, and consequently illustrates exactly the blessing pronounced on Judah, the Author does not withhold it, although it was originally suggested by scenery strictly belonging to the tribe of Benjamin.

After the taking of the strong-hold of Zion by David, who was of the tribe of Judah, and the removal of the Ark to Jerusalem, this city seems to have become, in some sense, the property of that tribe; although the right of Benjamin seems never to have been wholly lost sight of. (See 1 Chron. ix. 3. Nehem. xi. 1—4.)

† Bishop Lowth (Notes on Isaiah, chap. xii.) relates this custom. "On the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, the Jews fetched water, in a golden pitcher, from the Fountain of Siloam, springing at the foot of Mount Zion, without the city: they brought it through the Water-Gate into the temple; and poured it, mixed with wine, on the sacrifice as it lay on the altar, with great rejoicing. . . . Our Saviour applied the ceremony, and the intention of it, to Himself; and to the effusion of the Holy Spirit, promised, and to be given, by Him."

(for I do not pretend to speak with exactness,) these waters re-appear: and here they are drawn off to irrigate a lovely spot, consisting of gardens and small fields, reaching from this point of the acclivity down to the dell beneath; where the Brook Cedron, from the north, and the Valley of Hinnom, from the south, unite in one; forming from thence the Valley of Jehoshaphat. These gardens are, in summer, often frequented by the Turks, whom cool streams and the sight of verdure invite hither to repose themselves; not without the soothing fumes of the pipe. The situation of this spot appears to be that alluded to in Nehemiah iii. 15. and in 2 Kings xxv. 4, 5.

Just over against the Pool of Siloam, near the bottom of the valley, and on the slope of a lofty mountain on the opposite side, is a village which they call Siloa: it has a miserable aspect; many of the habitations being no better than excavations from the rock, and the rest very meanly built houses. I counted, including both kinds, about fifty: the population inhabiting them could not exceed two hundred.

VALLEY OF HINNOM.

Continuing our route on the southern side of the city, we next entered the Valley of Hinnom; a deep ravine, closed in on the right by the steep acclivity of Mount Zion, and on the left by a line of cliffs more or less elevated. From some point in these cliffs, tradition relates that the apostate betrayer of our Lord sought his desperate end; and the position of the trees, which, in various parts, overhang the brow of the cliff, accords with the common opinion of the manner of his death. In some parts of this ravine, the city is not visible: the reason is, that there is a considerable portion of Mount Zion toward the south-east, which is at present not inclosed within the walls of the city. This outer part is occupied, by the burying-place of the christians, by an Armenian convent as abovementioned without the walls, and by a very small Turkish village: the rest of this portion of Mount Zion is arable land, laid out in fields; most remarkably exhibiting, at the present day, the fulfilment of the prophecy uttered first by Micah (ch. iii. 12;) and afterward quoted by Jeremiah (ch. xxvi. 18,) *Zion shall be plowed as a field.*

We returned, by the Jaffa gate, about three o'clock in the afternoon, to our convent. The view of the city on ap-

proaching it from the west, from Jaffa, is exceedingly poor. On coming within sight of it, nothing appears to the eye but a fore-ground, running nearly level up to the walls; and these walls are not distinguished by any appearance of boldness or elegance, but only serve to hide the city from the view. The country all around, at this part, is rocky and rugged.

This excursion, being in several respects perfectly new, was to me most refreshing and delightful; and amply compensated for the inconvenience which we had suffered during the latter part of it, from frequent and heavy showers of rain.

BURIAL-GROUNDS.

I have not mentioned the different burial-grounds which we have observed: they are all separate, and are as follows. The Christians bury their dead on Mount Zion: the Turks have a burying-ground between the Damascus gate, and the gate going out near the mosque of Omar; another also about a quarter of a mile from the Jaffa gate, on the wayside going to the monastery of the Holy Cross: the Jews have their burying-ground on the north side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, over against where the temple anciently stood. It is the idea of many, that the scene of the Day of Judgment will here take place, according to a well-known interpretation of Joel iii. 11—17; and these children of Abraham seem to have chosen this spot for the repose of their mortal remains, to be ready to rise at the voice of the Judge, and receive the favor promised to their people. The scenery on this side of Jerusalem is peculiarly bold, and well suited to inspire feelings of sublimity and awe.

DISTURBANCES AT BETHLEHEM.

Saturday, Dec. 13, 1823—The day being very stormy, we were obliged to keep at home; which I much regretted, as it abridged my opportunity of seeing the Jewish synagogues, as we had appointed to do to-day. I had intended moreover, at all events, going to Bethlehem to-day, if the weather should permit: but in this also, I was disappointed. The reason of this delay in visiting the place of the Nativity, was, that for several days there has been a bad understanding between the government of Jerusalem and the

Men of Bethlehem. These men are remarkable for their high and independent spirit; and have manifested a resolution not to stoop to the oppressive measures of the new governor. The Turkish soldiers quartered upon them having probably behaved with insolence, the Bethlehemites expelled them; and these have been, we hear, sent back with no honor to Damascus: a reinforcement has arrived, and was yesterday sent to Bethlehem. In case of my going, I should have thrown aside my Oriental dress, and have dressed as an Englishman; which would have, at once, declared me neutral in the existing quarrels of the country. I still cherish the thought of going thither on Monday.*

In the afternoon, we had a call from Ysa Petros. We arranged to have service, the next day, in Italian; that he might unite with us, before my departure, in religious worship.

In the evening the Reverend Mr. Lewis arrived, by way of Ramla. He has spent many days at Damascus, Safet, and Tiberias; and gives an interesting account of the distribution of the Scriptures among Jews and Christians in the various places on his tour.

* One of the consequences of the present war, between the governor of Jerusalem and the men of Bethlehem is, that these men cannot come to the city to vend their trinkets. There is, at Bethlehem, a considerable manufacture of articles in mother-of-pearl, scallop-shells, &c. on which they engrave, in a rude style, pictures of Scripture history, especially the Crucifixion, and figures of the Virgin Mary and the saints. Beads, crosses, &c. are, or rather formerly have been, a great source of trade to these unpolished artisans: these articles, after having been duly blessed by the bishops, and attested as coming from the Holy City, were exported to Europe, where they brought, from superstitious devotees, *no small gain unto the craftsmen*. One or two poor women have, however, ventured by stealth, with these articles, into the city; from whom I purchased a few trifles, in consideration of their present poverty. One article which they exhibited was a model in wood, inlaid with ivory, of the chapel built over the Holy Sepulchre. Of the various trinkets which they shewed, no one served better than this to illustrate the expression translated in our English Version, *Silver Shrines for Diana* (Acts xix. 24.) The original is *ναὸς ἀργύρεος* and means, Silver Models of the Temple of Diana. Whether made very small, or entirely wrought in silver—or, if larger, inlaid or washed with silver—it is of little moment. In all the Levant, and in Roman Catholic countries, the pagan traffic, so imitatively described by the prophet Isaiah (See chapters xl. 19, 20. xli. 6, 7. xlv. 12—17. xlv. 6) continues in full activity: nor will they be persuaded that this is idolatrous, because the Seventh General Council has declared it to be lawful, and anathematized all those who think the contrary.

Very shortly after the Author left Jerusalem, the matter at issue between the governor of Jerusalem and the men of Bethlehem came to a trial. The governor having interested in his service as many of the neighboring Arab Sheiks as he could, went out with his forces, and was met in battle by the Bethlehemites. The men of Bethlehem obtained some advantages, which led to a temporary accommodation: they were to pay a sum of money to the governor; and he, on the other hand, was not to quarter soldiers on the town, which had been the principal point at issue. The Bethlehemites, however, fearing a surprise, still continued under arms; and the governor threatened them, that the Pacha himself of Damascus should come with all his forces and compel them to admit a Turkish garrison: but *the words of the men of Bethlehem were fiercer than his*. A wanton piece of barbarity preceded the battle. A few days before, the governor's party found a poor old man of Bethlehem laboring in the fields, and shot him; and fixed his head over the gate of Jerusalem, as if to whet their appetite for carnage.

ASPECT OF THE SABBATH IN JERUSALEM.

Sunday, Dec. 14, 1823—In the morning, Mr. Fisk, Mr. Lewis, Pappas Ysa Petros, and myself united in divine service, in Italian. This is my last of four Sabbaths spent in the Holy City.

There is something very peculiar in the aspect of this day in these parts. We have never as yet had, indeed, occasion to say, that *the adversaries mock at our Sabbaths*: but the sensation arising from seeing, that to the Mohammedans and Jews this is a day of work, and that to the bulk of professing christians it is, alas! a day of more than usual mirth, visiting, and feasting, abates much of that spirit of sacred sympathy which David so touchingly describes—I *went up with the MULTITUDE of them that kept holy day. I was glad when they said, Let us go into the house of the Lord!* On this very spot, did David once delight in these Sabbatic hours! But what would he think, were his spirit to descend from its eternal rest, to see his stronghold of Zion dismantled; and his brethren, for whose peace he prayed, broken in pieces by the oppressor? Were Solomon again to walk this earth, and view his unrivalled temple supplanted by the mosque of Omar; or could Isaiah know that his evangelic raptures are still unrevealed to multitudes on this Holy Hill of Zion, and that the watchmen who should have kept their stand day and night upon the walls of Jerusalem have long since held their peace and sunk into almost pagan stupor; or could the first apostles look round, and ask in this place, Who are they that have kept the faith?—what would be the emotions of their re-embodied spirits! We, so greatly their inferiors—not so devout, nor fervent, nor conversant with divine mysteries as they—yet feel amazed and utterly down-cast, when we contemplate so many visible marks of departed glory.

If, however, the work now beginning here, be (as we would humbly trust it is) right in principle, and the workmen right in heart, we must not despise the day of small things. Two ministers of the Church of England, one to the Jews and another to the Gentiles, and a minister from the distant shores of the New World, uniting in prayer with a native minister of the Gospel in Jerusalem, form but a small assembly; but it is such a congregation as I once never thought to see. May our prayers for an increase of

laborers be accepted and answered, by the Lord of the Sabbath, *exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think!*

Our worship, besides the devotional part, consisted in my discoursing on the closing verses of the fifth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians: after which Mr. Fisk took up the service; and, with much feeling, discoursed from the ninth chapter of Daniel; applying it, in a very striking manner, to the present circumstances of the suffering Oriental churches.

In the evening, my American brother and myself spent an hour, as we had been used to do on the close of our Sabbaths, in mutually making such friendly remarks as might be personally useful to us in our common work. As this was our last conference, I am induced to put on record the topic concerning which we then conversed and prayed—"How best to secure the advantages, and avoid the evils, which may result from our studying the characters and consequently perceiving the faults of christian brethren?"

DEPARTURE FROM JERUSALEM.

Monday, Dec. 15, 1823—Yesterday, beyond all expectation, after two days of stormy weather apparently likely to last, the sky cleared up, and I had resolved, should this day prove equally fair, to take my departure. Accordingly, with one of the brightest mornings that ever greeted a pilgrim's eye, I gave the word to move. At an early hour, Pappas Ysa and the Abyssinian priest were with me to take leave, and staid some time. The Greek deacon, Cæsarius, called also in haste, to say farewell: he is, himself, under orders this day to go with a party of the monks to the convent of Mar Saba, there probably to spend the Christmas festival. Various delays arose: in fact, in this country a good departure is always worth half-a-day's journey. I had only, besides my own and my servant's horse, a mule's load of baggage, a guide on horseback, and a muleteer on an ass: yet, with this simple equipage, after having actually taken leave of my brethren and passed two or three streets, I discovered serious imposition which the guide wished to pass upon me, and was obliged to return and have, as usual, a conflict with that perverse thing—Arab temper. On these occasions, I have observed *that it is only necessary to be in the right, and to shew*

yourself decided and calm; upon which, after a few malignant evolutions, the evil spirit becomes submissive, and even tractable. Thus it was with my guide, on the present occasion: finding himself detected, he hastened to repair his error; and, with redoubled vehemence, laid both hands upon his green turban to assure me with their usual oath, "Upon my head," that he would serve me faithfully. (See Matthew v. 36.) This is the commonest oath of the country, "On my head."*

At length all parties being brought round to good humor, and Mohammed the guide the more so for having been completely conquered, we made a second more successful departure.

REFLECTIONS ON LEAVING JERUSALEM.

At half-past-eleven o'clock, we passed the Damascus gate of the city; and, in half-an-hour, reached the top of the hill, from which I had caught the first view of Jerusalem on my arrival, and from which I was now to see it for the last time.

While the servants went on, I rode to a fair green spot, and turned my horse's head round, that I might enjoy a few moments' solitary meditation on the view before me! Surely no traveller would fail to snatch such a moment. With little bodily strength, and through a variety of scenes in which troubles had been anticipated, though none had been experienced, I have thus succeeded in accomplishing the pilgrimage to the Holy City. "What good," I thought, "has my visit done here? Who will be the better for it? Here—where the Saviour bled—how have I requited His love?" These thoughts rapidly passed through my mind, raising such pensive feelings as I am no stranger to. "I feel that I have done almost nothing: and even if, humanly speaking, I had done much, yet I must before my Master

* Another most common oath with the Arabs is *W'Allah*; an appeal to the Sacred Name. Occasionally they strengthen this by *IV'en-Nabi*, "By the Prophet." The remark, *an oath for confirmation is an end of all strife*, is often curiously exemplified by the Arabs, in their most common transactions. After wrangling a long while, with a vehemence and a pertinacity, which seems to shut out all hope of conciliation, they will (if suffered by the traveller to take their own time) suddenly come to terms: their chief, who has watched the furious debate, and in good part fomented it, marks the auspicious moment, clenches the question, gives the signal *IV'Allah*, and at once all is settled; every man proceeds to his post, whether it be loading or unloading animals, or setting off on a journey, &c. The man, who has a minute before defied and insulted the traveller to his face, will then come smiling and flawning about him, with an officiousness still more disgusting than his previous rudeness. It is best, on these occasions, not to contend; neither to *rage*, nor *laugh*, with them. (See Proverbs xxix. 9.)

acknowledge that I am an unprofitable servant. But it is now too late to amend this visit; for the time is past, and I must bid farewell to Jerusalem. The noon-day sun shines strong and bright upon the city, and seems to mock its base condition. What a contrast between its aspect at this distance, and its actual state! Here, the smaller objects not being minutely discernible, the glowing strains of David seem as true and lively as they were when they first answered to the touch of his instrument of ten strings—*Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth is Mount Zion*. Still, there seem to be her towers, her bulwarks, and her palaces challenging our admiration. But I have now, for more than twenty days, known that these are not the towers or the temple of ancient times. At every step, coming forth out of the city, the heart is reminded of that prophecy, accomplished to the letter, *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles*.^{*} All the streets are wretchedness; and the houses of the Jews more especially (the people who once held a sceptre on this mountain of holiness) are as dunghills."

While I gazed, my eyes filled with tears till I could look no longer. The frequent ejaculation of the bishop of Nazareth came into my mind—"Lord, how long?" I thought, too, of those brethren, from whom I had just parted, and for whose sakes I had an additional motive to pray, *Peace be within thy walls!* I then suddenly broke off from this multitude of thoughts, which was growing too painful for me; and pursuing my journey, I felt by degrees as though my present mission was, in some sense, accomplished; and began to indulge, more warmly, the hope of returning to my family in peace.

AIN YABROUD.

In the evening, at sun-set, we turned off from the road a little to the left, to sleep at Ain Yabroud; a poor village of about fifty houses, all Mohammedans. Our guide, Mahomed, immediately rode up to what he called the principal house: and such, indeed, it seemed to be; the centre part being built high, so as at a distance to give it the appearance of a tower: at the same time he sent some of the villagers to inquire for Sheik Ibrahim, the head of the

^{*} The author would here add, that he has, subsequently, very often meditated on that phrase: and he can with truth affirm, that no expression could have been invented more descriptive of the visible state of Jerusalem, than this single phrase, *trodden down*—furnished by the most lively and descriptive of all writings extant, the Bible.

place. I found it difficult, however, to conceive myself entering the chief house of the village. I had, on dismounting, to pass through a wretched court-yard; and, at the door, found the point of precedence disputed with me by asses, oxen, sheep, and goats, a very large company. As I paused for a moment to look into a residence which appeared within to be scarcely habitable, these irrational tenants, not at all standing upon ceremony, but knowing well their prescriptive title, herded downward into a sort of lower chamber; while my guide, behind me, pointed to four steps, which, if I would have the goodness to mount them, would raise me so many degrees above the brute creation. I very reluctantly complied; and, at once, found myself on a large mud floor; which, with a small recess on one side for the females of the family, presented at one view the whole interior of the best house in the village. The nether inhabitants of this dwelling were now lifting up such an inharmonious chorus, as gave presage of a very uncomfortable night. "What are we to do?" I said to my servant: "and when will this uproar cease?" "When the cattle have had their fodder," he replied; which, happily proved true: for, in less than ten minutes, all this disturbance yielded to a profound sleep, which knew no interruption till the next morning-light. The party below having thus supped and quieted themselves, the Sheik and the men of the village began to assemble on the upper floor, where I had seated myself, near a large blazing fire; which, but for the immense amount of animal heat already accumulated in the house, would have been very seasonable. The Sheik, by way of compliment and protection, sat by me, leaning on my baggage and bedding; an omen of unwelcome companions likely to be added to my party. A large assembly gradually collected in the room, not fewer than fifteen venerable, bearded men, all with huge dirks at their sides—which, as they sat down, they drew out and laid before them on the floor; but whether as a compliment, or merely for their own convenience, I could not divine. To prevent their troublesome curiosity in asking after my purposes, I made many inquiries into their affairs, and learned that this house is indeed the castle of the village, and has served that end many times in their quarrels with their neighbors. They described to me who were their friends, and who their enemies. As far as Beer, a town which I had passed, about an hour and a half to the south of Ain Yabroud, they

have friends: but, on the other side of Beer, to Jerusalem, and in all that region, enemies; their head Sheik, Ishmael, being at war with the celebrated Abu Goosh, who lives between Jerusalem and Ramla. In consequence, they cannot go to Jerusalem: and having lately sold oil, the produce of their land, to persons living there, they cannot themselves carry it; but the purchasers are obliged to come from Jerusalem, to fetch it. On the other side, to the north, they are at war with Sangyl. Thus they are beset on all quarters. I began to point out the unnatural troubles of war; reminding them that they were all of one blood, and that they themselves felt the inconveniences of this bad system: from all which the chief Sheik, Ibrahim, drew back with evident marks of distaste. I could not help thinking, how much more readily do most men welcome a fomentor of quarrels, than a peace-maker! Had I brought them some evil news of their neighbors, something to rouse their bad passions, they would have been better pleased than they were with these abstract reasonings. The Sheik, unable to withstand my remarks, retorted the *argumentum ad hominem*; asking whether the case was not the same exactly with the christians at Jerusalem, and he supposed) in other countries also. I said, "But such are not true christians: for our religion commands us to love one another; and they who violate this rule, cease to be christians." My servant, perceiving the Sheik and his wide circle considerably dissatisfied with the turn of the conversation, would interpret for me no further. If my remarks should have left no good impression on the minds of these Arab peasants, may they convey a lesson to those who read these lines! *By our fruits* will men judge of our faith. Thus, in fact, have professing christians been judged in Palestine; and thus will Protestant missionaries be judged who shall go thither. Having signified my desire of rest, the party broke up; but about ten remained, with whom I had to sleep upon the floor: so we all lay, stretched out, foot to foot, or head to head.

RETURN TO NABLOUS.

Tuesday, Dec. 16, 1823—Left Ain Yabroud at eight o'clock in the morning, and passed Sangyl in two hours and a half; arriving at Khan Leban in one hour more: here I rested a while.

An hour after, on the way to Nablous, we met with the first insult, and indeed the only one, experienced by me in all this journey. A man ran after us, some distance, with a long staff in his hand, announcing another who soon followed, carrying a gun: he was the Sheik of the district. We halted, to know his pleasure. His pleasure was, first, to know who and what we were, who presumed to pass without paying tribute: to which the answer was short—that I was an Englishman, and the bearer of two letters from the Governor of Jerusalem to the Governor of Nablous. He said, he acknowledged no Governor; that his village had always been free and independent; that a man of Jerusalem had come to buy oxen of him, to the value of two hundred piastres, and by night had driven away the oxen without payment; that he should, therefore, take Mahommed into custody till the money was sent him from Jerusalem, unless I was willing to pay down the 200 piastres. As we were only three hours from Nablous, we agreed that Mahommed should be detained, and I go on to the Governor with my letters. Upon this our assailant dropped his high pretensions, and finally suffered us to go, without gaining a single para, and with no other inconvenience to us than the delay.

A little further on, my servant directed my attention to a common circumstance, which aptly enough illustrates a verse of Scripture. It was a family returning from their work in the field, bringing wood home for fuel. Several of them were young girls; the youngest a child not above four years of age, which the others were continually scolding for not keeping up with them, although it was manifestly struggling under a very disproportionate share of the family burden. This might explain the latter clause of Lamentations v, 13, *They took the young men to grind, and the children fell under the wood.*

Arriving fatigued in the evening at Nablous, I only sent my letters, without waiting on the governor: he immediately sent his secretary, who, it appeared, was the son of the chief of the Samaritans. The father, now in years, formerly filled the office, I was lodging, as before, at the house of the Greek priest. He insisted on serving up coffee, to which the Samaritan, with some reluctance, assented. I was not at all pleased with the ill compliment paid to him, and, through him, to the government of Nablous, by the Greek priest who sipped the coffee before he presented it to him, a ceremony which I have never

before witnessed in any house that I have yet visited in the east; but which, if report speaks true, of foul deeds lately done in this city, was not a superfluous, or unmeaning act.

Close adjoining to the house of the priest, and in a manner part of it, was the church. It was the eve of Saint Saba, and the Christian people were assembling to divine service. I counted thirty six men present, a large proportion of the male Christian population of this modern Sychem: but in the narrow anti-room, where females stand, there was but one woman—a perfect contrast to the occasional religious services of our own country! but easily to be accounted for. Here, public devotion being in an unknown language, assumes more the appearance of a mere task; and, consequently, men, are expected to attend it as if transacting some work of business, while their wives are enduring heavy drudgery at home. In England, our week day services, better adapted to touch the heart, are attractive to the more feeling sex; while the men excuse their non-attendance, on the plea of ever-urgent occupation.

FROM NABLOUS TO BEIROUT.

Wednesday, Dec. 17, 1823—On leaving Nablous, we found that heavy rain had fallen in the night, and more was likely to fall: I had, therefore, good reason to press on without any delay to Beirout. I returned by the same stages as those by which we came—nothing remarkable occurring on the way; unless I were to notice that the Latin convent at Nazareth had been, in this interval, much deserted, there being only six friars left in it; the others were gone either to Bethlehem or Acre.

Between Acre and Tyre, I met a very respectable elderly person in black Frank clothes, who informed me that he was an Irish Roman Catholic priest, and had vowed, or as he expressed it, had made a promise to God, that he would go all the way on foot to Jerusalem; and, having thus far kept his promise, voyages of course excepted, he will probably hold on, till his feet stand within the gates of the holy city. I was in such urgent haste to escape the rain, and reach my destination before night-fall, that I could not stop to converse with him as I wished.* As I was, I was under

* The account which we afterward heard of the progress of this pilgrim was as follows:—Having arrived at Nazareth, he heard that there were so many difficulties likely to be met with, if he proceeded on foot to Jerusalem, that he determined to return to Acre, and thence take a passage in a boat to Jaffa. In the mean time a rumor of the plague at

the necessity of halting short of Tyre, and sleeping in a most miserable hut, not water-proof—the rain dropping through on my bed—at Ras el Ain. All the rest of the way to Beirout, I was occasionally incommoded by stormy weather; but happily nothing like illness detained me before my arrival in that city, which took place late on Monday night, the 22d of December.

Here, to my great joy, I found Mr. and Mrs. Bird, Mr. and Mrs. Goodell, and Mr. King, occupying a house, and giving a new missionary attraction to the place. I have reason to record with especial gratitude, the many acts of christian kindness which I experienced under the hospitable roof of our American friends. These offices of love were, indeed, most seasonable; as my stay in Beirout, which it was supposed would not exceed a week or two, was unexpectedly protracted to fifty days, during which anxious period the effect of my journeying developed itself in a painful illness which fell upon me, but which providentially spent its force before my departure.

An opportunity for Alexandria, at length, offered on the 9th of February, 1824; when I quitted Syria with such emotions of thankfulness, as might well arise in the breast of one who, after performing in past years several almost solitary journeys, had spent nearly all the last five months in the society of missionary brethren and sisters. With these, already become eight in number, I had often experienced the blessing spoken of in those expressive words—*We have fellowship one with another; and, Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son, Jesus Christ.*

ITINERARY OF THE AUTHOR.

	Hours.
Beirout to Saide - - - -	10½
Saide to Sour - - - -	9
Sour to Nahoura - - - -	5½
Nahoura to Acre - - - -	6

Tiberias induced the pacha of Acre to establish a quarantine in that city. The Irish priest, while he remained in Nazareth, attended with the greatest humanity to a dying Italian, from whom every body else fled, supposing him to be infected with the plague. Unacquainted with the horror which that apprehension inspires in persons accustomed to the Levant, he seemed astonished at the selfishness of their fears, and himself alone supported the languishing patient many hours in his arms. The case was, however, of a consumptive nature: the life of his attendant would otherwise, in all probability, have been forfeited. He, after this, returned to Acre; but, quarantine having been established, was not permitted to enter; and himself suffered much from the inclemency of the season. He finally reached the holy city in safety—"his vow completed."

Acre to Nazareth	-	-	-	9
Nazareth to Tiberias	-	-	-	5½
Tiberias to Safet	-	-	-	6½
Safet to Hattyn	-	-	-	6
Hattyn to Cana	-	-	-	2½
Cana to Nazareth	-	-	-	1½
Nazareth to Gennyn	-	-	-	6
Gennyn to Nablous	-	-	-	8½
Nablous to Sangyl	-	-	-	6
Sangyl to Ain Yabroud	-	-	-	2½
Ain Yabroud to Jerusalem	-	-	-	6½

The time from Acre to Nazareth was increased by perhaps two hours, from the guide not being well acquainted with the road.

A traveller, on horseback, and unincumbered with baggage, would perform most of these distances, especially in fine weather, in a shorter time.

NOTES TO THE JOURNAL.

A.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

House of the dead.

WHILE walking out, one evening, a few fields' distance from Deir el Kamr, with Hanna Doomani, the son of my host, (see p. 74,) to see a detached garden belonging to his father, he pointed out to me, near it, a small, solid, stone building, apparently a house; very solemnly adding, "*Kabbar beity*,"—"the sepulchre of our family." It had neither door nor window. He then directed my attention to a considerable number of similar buildings, at a distance: which, to the eye, are exactly like houses; but which are, in fact, family mansions for the dead. They have a most melancholy appearance, which made him shudder while he explained their use. They seem, by their dead walls, which must be opened at each several interment of the members of a family, to say, "This is an unkindly house, to which visitors do not willingly throng: but, one by one, they will be forced to enter; and none who enter, ever come out again."

Perhaps this custom, which prevails particularly at Deir el Kamr, and in the lonely neighboring parts of the mountain, may have been of great antiquity; and may serve to explain some Scripture phrases. The prophet Samuel was buried *in his house at Ramah*: 1 Sam. xxv. 1: it could hardly be in his dwelling-house. Joab *was buried in his own house in the wilderness*: 1 Kings ii, 34. This was *the house appointed for all living*: Job xxx, 23.

Carpzovius (Apparatus, p. 643,) remarks, "*Vix credendum est sepulchra in ipsis ædibus sub tecto fuisse . . . quapropter rectius intelligitur id omne quod ad domum pertinet, eidemque cohæret; ac proin etiam area, vel hortus, in cujus forte angulo exteriori tale quoddam extruxerunt mōnumentum.*" The view of these sepulchral houses at Deir el Kamr puts the matter beyond conjecture.

Possibly, likewise, the passages in Proverbs ii. 18, 19. and vii. 27. and ix. 18. describing the house of a wanton woman, may have drawn their imagery from this custom. *He knoweth not that the dead are there.....her house inclineth unto death, and her paths unto the dead. None that go unto her return again.*

Gen. xviii. 6, 10. and xxvii. 14, 17.

When we had finished our meals, in the family in which I resided at Deir el Kamr, and were risen, the mother, daughter,

and daughter-in-law, who had been waiting at the door, came in, and partook of what remained. Thus it is in Syria: and thus it has been, probably, ever since Abraham, a *Syrian ready to perish*, traversed these regions, dwelling in tents: when Sarah, having prepared an entertainment for three Divine Strangers, did not present it, that being Abraham's office; but stood at the tent-door, which was behind him. So Rebekah prepared food for her husband to eat, and sent it in by the hand of Jacob.

Prov. xi. 21.

The expression *though hand join in hand*, may bear a slight correction; conformable both to the original Hebrew, and also to the custom actually prevailing in Syria. The original יָד בְּיָד simply signifies, *hand to hand*. And this is the custom of persons in the East, when they greet each other, or strike hands, in token of friendship and agreement. They touch their right-hands respectively; and then raise them up to their lips and forehead. This is the universal Eastern courtesy: the English version, and the devices grounded upon it, give the idea of *hand clasped in hand*, which is European, rather than Oriental. The sense, therefore, is, *Though hand meet hand*—intimating, that heart assents to heart in the perpetration of wickedness—*yet shall not the wicked go unpunished*.

Isaiah xiv. 8.

As we passed (see p. 80) through the extensive forest of fir-trees situated between Deir el Kamr and Ainep, we had already heard, at some distance, the stroke of one solitary axe, resounding from hill to hill. On reaching the spot, we found a peasant, whose labor had been so far successful, that he had felled his tree and lopped the branches. He was now hewing it in the middle, so as to balance the two halves upon his camel; which stood patiently by him, waiting for his load. In the days of Hiram, king of Tyre, and subsequently under the kings of Babylon, this romantic solitude was not so peaceful: that most poetic image in Isaiah, who makes these very trees vocal, exulting in the downfall of the destroyer of nations, seems now to be almost realized anew—*Yea, the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us*.

Isaiah lii. 2, 10.

The use of the Oriental dress, which I now wear, brings to the mind various Scriptural Illustrations, of which I will only mention two.

The figure in Isaiah lii. 10, *The Lord hath made bare his holy arm*, is most lively: for the loose sleeve of the Arab shirt, as well as that of the outer garment, leaves the arm so completely free, that, in an instant, the left-hand passing up the right arm makes

it bare; and this is done when a person—a soldier, for example, about to strike with the sword—intends to give his right arm full play. The image represents Jehovah as suddenly prepared to inflict some tremendous, yet righteous judgment—so effectual, *that all the ends of the world shall see the salvation of God.*

The other point illustrated occurs in the second verse of the same chapter: where the sense of the last expressions is, to an Oriental, extremely natural—*Shake thyself from the dust—arise—sit down, O Jerusalem.* It is no uncommon thing to see an individual, or a group of persons, even when very well-dressed, sitting, with their feet drawn under them, upon the bare earth, passing whole hours in idle conversation. Europeans would require a chair; but the natives here prefer the ground. In the heat of summer and autumn, it is pleasant to them to while away their time in this manner, under the shade of a tree. Richly-adorned females, as well as men, may often be seen thus amusing themselves. As may naturally be expected, with whatever care they may, at first sitting down, choose their place, yet the flowing dress by degrees gathers up the dust: as this occurs, they, from time to time, arise, adjust themselves, shake off the dust, and then sit down again. The captive daughter of Zion, therefore, brought down to the dust of suffering and oppression, is commanded to arise and shake herself from that dust; and then, with grace and dignity and composure and security, to *sit down*; to take, as it were, again, her seat and her rank amid the company of the nations of the earth, which had before afflicted her, and trampled her to the earth.

It may be proper to notice that Bishop Lowth gives another rendering—*Arise, ascend thy lofty seat*—and quotes Eastern customs, to justify the version: but I see no necessity for the alteration, although to English ears it may sound more appropriate. A person of rank in the East often sits down upon the ground, with his attendants about him.

Matt. vi. 3. and Prov. vi. 13.

The manner in which the Samaritan priest (see p. 152) desired me, on parting, to express our mutual good-will, was by an action, than which there is not one more common in all the Levant. He put the fore-finger of his right-hand parallel to that of his left, and then rapidly rubbed them together, while I was expected to do the same, repeating the words, "right, right;" or, in common acceptance, "together, together." It is in this manner that persons express their consent on all occasions; on concluding a bargain, on engaging to bear one another company, and on every kind of friendly agreement or good understanding.

May not this serve to explain the phrase in Matt. vi. 3: *Let not thy left-hand know what thy right-hand doeth?* that is, "Let not thy heart consent to its own good thoughts, with a sinful self-applause." So much is said, in the Old Testament, of speaking with the eyes, hands, and even feet, that it is scarcely understood by Englishmen. They should see the expressive and innumerable gesticulations of foreigners when they converse:

many a question is answered, and many a significant remark conveyed, by even children, who learn this language much sooner than their mother-tongue. Perhaps the expression of Solomon, that the wicked man *speakeeth with his feet*, (Prov. vi. 13.) may appear more natural, when it is considered that the mode of sitting on the ground in the East brings the feet into view, nearly in the same direct line as the hands; the whole body crouching down together, and the hands, in fact, often resting upon the feet.

Matt. xxvi. 23. and John xiii. 25—27.

To witness the daily family-habits, in the house in which I lived at Deir el Kamr, forcibly reminded me of Scripture scenes. The absence of the females at our meals has been already noticed. There is another custom, by no means agreeable to a European; to which, however, that I might not seem unfriendly, I would have willingly endeavored to submit, but it was impossible to learn it in the short compass of a twenty days' visit. There are set on the table, in the evening, two or three messes of stewed meat, vegetables, and sour milk. To me, the privilege of a knife and spoon and plate was granted; but the rest all helped themselves immediately from the dish; in which it was no uncommon thing to see more than five Arab fingers at one time. Their bread, which is extremely thin, tearing and folding up like a sheet of paper, is used for the purpose of rolling together a large mouthful, or sopping up the fluid and vegetables. But the practice which was most revolting to me was this: when the master of the house found in the dish any dainty morsel, he took it out with his fingers, and applied it to my mouth. This was true Syrian courtesy and hospitality; and, had I been sufficiently well-bred, my mouth would have opened to receive it. On my pointing to my plate, however, he had the goodness to deposit the choice morsel there. I would not have noticed so trivial a circumstance, if it did not exactly illustrate what the Evangelists record of the Last Supper. St. Matthew relates that the Traitor was described by our Lord in these terms—*He, that dipseth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me*: xxvi. 23. From this it may be inferred that Judas sat near to our Lord; perhaps on one side next to him. St. John, who was leaning on Jesus's bosom, describes the fact with an additional circumstance. Upon his asking, *Lord, who is it?* Jesus answered, *He it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it. And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the sop, Satan entered into him*: xiii. 25—27.

B.

THE TANTOOR, A FEMALE HEAD-DRESS IN SYRIA.

The most extraordinary Oriental costume which I have yet seen, is the head-dress worn by many females at Deir el Kamr,

and in all the adjacent region of Mount Lebanon. In the cities on the sea-coast it is not so frequently seen. It is called Tantor; and is set on the forehead, projecting like a straight horn. It is from fifteen to twenty inches long; in its thickness gradually diminishing; having its diameter at one extremity about four inches, at the other about two. It is hollow, otherwise the weight would be insupportable to the stiffest neck; and it is tinselled over, so as to give it a silvery appearance. The end with the larger diameter rests on the forehead, where it is strapped to, by one strap passing behind the head, and another passing under the chin: the horn itself protrudes straight forward, inclining upward, at an angle of about twenty or thirty degrees. Over the farther extremity they throw the veil, which thus serves the double purpose of modesty and shade.

I could hear no account of the origin of this unicorn costume. In its style it differs materially from the horns described by Bruce in Abyssinia, and by other travellers; which have been considered as illustrating those passages in Scripture, *Lift not up your horn on high.....Thine horn hast thou exalted*, &c. For, here it is the females that wear it; and not the men, as in Abyssinia: it has no appearance of strength, nor indeed, to me, of beauty; although, doubtless, among the females of Mount Lebanon there may be as much vanity in their mode of adjusting and bearing this article of dress, as is to be found at any European toilet. Some, indeed, though very few, wear this monstrous ornament protruding from one side of the face, instead of the front: but I could obtain no satisfactory account of this heretical fashion, any more than of the orthodox position of the Tantor.

It is not worn by the Druse women only. The servant of the house where I lived at Deir el Kamr wore one: so also did a young woman whose marriage I there witnessed (see pp. 74, 75;) several, likewise, of the virgins, that were her fellows, and bore her company, wore this head-dress. All these were christians. Hanna Doomani told me that it is used chiefly by the lower orders; at least that those who have been brought up at Damascus, or at the principal cities, would not think of wearing it. In other words, probably, it is the true, ancient female-mountaineer's costume; but what is its degree of antiquity, it may be difficult to discover.

In examining various critics for the Oriental sense of the word "horn," the following passages occurred, which may serve, in a collateral manner, to illustrate the costume of the Tantor. These passages refer to a drawing, with which almost every child is familiar, who has seen the old picture-books, representing the person of Moses. By a vulgar error, he is often depicted as having a horn projecting from his forehead, or a ray of glory beaming forth in that form. The origin of this is referred by the critics to a too servile rendering, in the Vulgate, of the original Hebrew. Glassius (*Philologia Sacra*, p. 819.) after giving various metaphorical senses of the word "horn," adds this signification, in conclusion: "*In modum cornuum radios diffundere, coruscare, radiare, splendere, significat. Exodus*

xxxiv. 29, 30, 35. ubi de *Mosis facie splendescente sermo est*. Chald. '*Multiplacatus erat splendor gloriæ faciei suæ.*' LXX. '*ἰσχυρὰς ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ἑσπέρου τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ*' ad quam versionem Paulus 2 Cor. iii. 7 respexit. Vulgata: '*Quod cornuta esset facies sua.*' Ex qua versione *Moses cornutus in picturis quibusdam prodit.*'

The same is noted by Carpzovius, (*Apharatus Historico-Criticus*, pp. 511, 512,) who refers to this source a similar picture of a heathen deity: *Ceterum inde fluxit insanus Gentilium error, qui Bacchum suum, maxime in expeditione Indica, cornutum tradiderunt; sub cuius nomine Moesen eos coluisse Vossius, Huetius, aliique demonstrarunt.*'

Ludovicus de Dieu, in his note on Exodus xxxiv. 35. further remarks, "*Sic in historia Saracenica Elmacini, ut et passim alibi, Alexander Magnus cognominatur 'habens duo cornua;'* i. e. *duplicem gloriam, ob imperium Orientis et Occidentis.*"

The Tantor of Mount Lebanon is evidently intended for splendor, while the horn worn by the Abyssinian chiefs was significant of strength. Whether the version of St. Jerome—"Quod cornuta esset facies ejus"—first gave rise to the painting of Moses in that manner, and thus led to the adoption of the costume; or whether, on the other hand, the closeness of his rendering may indicate that such a costume already existed in Syria when he wrote, so that his allusion would, in that era and in that country, seem nothing forced or strange, may be left to conjecture. I should incline to the latter opinion; and, consequently, imagine that the costume is as ancient, at least, as his time.

C.

ON TYRE.

It might, perhaps, be thought, that the aqueducts and Solomon's cisterns are an exception to the remark at p. 108, that not a vestige of an ancient city appears on the site of the first Tyre. These structures seem, however, to be fairly laid out of the question by the following criticism of Maundrell, (Journey, March 21, 1697)—who, noticing the TRADITION, that these cisterns were part of the recompense made by Solomon to King Hiram for the materials sent toward the building of the temple, shrewdly remarks—"They are, doubtless, very ancient; but yet of a much later date than what this tradition ascribes to them. That they could not be built till since Alexander's time, may be conjectured from this, among other arguments—because the aqueduct, which conveys the water from hence to Tyre, is carried over the neck of land, by which Alexander in his famous siege of this place joined the city to the continent. And as the cisterns cannot well be imagined to be ancients than the aqueduct; so one may be sure the aqueduct cannot be older than the ground it stands upon."

To the denunciations of the prophet Ezekiel against Tyre, quoted at pp. 136—138, may be added the brief but energetic

prediction of Zechariah (ch. ix. 3, 4) of the ruin of that devoted city—*Tyrus did build herself a strong hold: and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets. Behold, the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire.*

Possibly the expression of the prophet Isaiah (doubtless alluding to the most ancient Tyre) might be thought to weaken the remark, at p. 110, that the insular town was not necessarily to be considered as identical with the old city—*Be still, ye inhabitants of THE ISLE:* (ch. xxiii. 2, 6.) But Bishop Lowth translates this passage—*Ye inhabitants of the sea-coast.* This is very learnedly discussed by Reland (Palestine, pp. 1060, 1051.) Poole and Vitringa both accord with this rendering. Ancient Tyre is by Strabo represented to be what would seem considerably south: this writer says (Geography, Book xvi. under "Syria") "Tyre is distant from Sidon not more than two hundred stadia. Between them is a city named Ornithon; (ορνιθιον, 'Oρνιθιον τινος λεγομενου called the city of birds?') After this near Tyre, a river disembogues itself. After Tyre is Palæ-Tyrus, thirty stadia distant." Thirty stadia would be nearly four miles English. The impression made on my mind, after consulting various authorities, is one which entirely concurs with both the prophetic writings and the actual view of the spot—namely, that between Modern Tyre, and Khan Nahoura, (though much nearer to the former,) existed Palæ-Tyrus; being built to the water's edge: which would explain Ezekiel xlvii. 3.

D.

STATE OF THE JEWS AT SAFET.

From what we learned at Safet, it is evident that affairs are there much worse with the Jews, than they were at the time when Basnage described them. The reader may compare with the statements given at pp. 138—142, the following account of Safet, in Book vii. chapter 24, section 1. of Basnage's History of the Jews. Having remarked that the zeal of the Jews toward the Holy Land is much cooled, he adds, that, of the cities to which they resort, "Safet is the most peopled, and the most celebrated among them. They there enjoy many advantages. For, first, this city, situated in the tribe of Naphtali, at a distance of nine miles from Bethsaida, upon a mountain with a triple ridge or summit, is extremely difficult of access. It is thus protected from the incursions of the roving Arabs, who pillage and desolate whatever cities they can enter. Secondly, I know not whether it be that the Turks are unwilling, by ill-treating the Jews, to occasion the depopulation of the town, or whether it is the mildness of the Ottomans that attracts the Jews thither; certain it is that they are more numerous at Safet, and that they are more kindly treated here, than in all the rest of the Ottoman Empire.....A third of the inhabitants are Turks: the other two thirds are Jews."

E.

ENMITY OF SAMARITANS TO JEWS AND CHRISTIANS.

Mill, in his "Dissertationes Selectæ," has one entire Dissertation (the xivth) "On the Causes of the Enmity between the Jews and the Samaritans." In reference to the exclusive regard of the Samaritans to their Pentateuch, noticed in the preceding Journal, Mill quotes from them the following declaration:—"Possidemus etiam codicem legis, a temporibus gratiæ, quem scripsit Abia filius Pinchasi. Legitur enim scriptum in eo: Ego Abia filius Pinchasi f. Eleazaris f. Aaronis sacerdotis, scripsi hoc in atrio Tabernaculi Convocationis, in monte Garizim, anno decimo tertio a reversione filiorum Israel in terram Canaan, et in fines ejus circumcirca. Laudo Dominum." He adds, "Eumque tanta religione colunt, ut, præter sacerdotem eum, nemo attingere eum audeat. Codicem autem Hebræum non modo spernunt, sed etiam diris devovunt."

Mill further relates, that the enmity of the Samaritans has not been less bitter against the christians; quoting, in proof, the following passage from Eutychius: "In the twenty-first year of the reign of Justinian, the Samaritans, having made an incursion into Palestine, destroyed all the churches, and cast fire into them: they likewise killed many christians, cruelly tormented others, and murdered the bishop of Nablous. Hearing of this, Justinian the Emperor sent a large army, and slew a great multitude of Samaritans." The consequence of this war was, that the christians would not admit into the bosom of the church any Samaritan who was desirous of becoming a christian, under less than two years' probation.—*Millii Dissertationes Selectæ*, p. 435. & p. 453.

F.

POPULATION OF JERUSALEM.

In addition to what is said, at pp. 238, 239, on the population of Jerusalem, it may be remarked, that, in reference to the Holy City, (as, indeed, all places in the Levant,) the most various statements are to be found in different writers. There can be little doubt, however that Hasselquist has committed a very great error, when he says, "Jerusalem has amongst its inhabitants 20,000 Jews." (Voyages in the East, "Jerusalem.") It may be agreeable to the reader to hear a more moderate estimate, certainly more near the truth, by the late Professor Carlyle: "The population," he says, consists of 9,000 Mohammedans, 3,000 Jews, 2,000 Greeks, 600 Latins, 200 Armenians, 100 Jacobites or Syrians, and two or three families of Copts or Maronites." (See Walpole's Memoirs, p. 187.) This would make a total of about 15,000; which is the utmost that the author conceives the city would contain, in ordinary circumstances.

G.

NUMBER OF CONVENTS IN JERUSALEM.

The number of christian convents in Jerusalem was stated to me thus:—thirteen Greek convents; of which some are for monks, others, for nuns—three Armenian; two for monks, and one for nuns—two Coptic—one Abyssinian—one Latin; with another religious house attached to it. This would give a total of twenty-one monastic establishments; but some of them are very poor and mean, and, except during the season for pilgrims, scarcely tenanted. In the convent of Mar Michael, where we lodged, there were, besides ourselves, the Superior—his sister—the Superior of the monastery of St. Saba—and two or three poor Greeks or Anatolians; who seem hardly to know either how to live here, or how to get away, or what place to go to.

H.

RIGOR OF THE ADVENT-FAST.

The rigor of the Lent which is kept during the four weeks of Advent began before I left Jerusalem. Among other persons who were suffering under it, was the aged sister of the Superior of the convent of Mar Michael. I had given the Superior some medicine, which he found very beneficial; on which his sister applied to me for similar relief. On making inquiry into her diet, I found that she was so impoverishing her constitution by fasting, that, at her advanced age and with her infirmities, I doubted the safety of administering medicine of sufficient power to remove her indisposition. Her illness was, in fact, entirely owing to bad and low food. She complained that she had lost all appetite: I recommended her to take a little meat to strengthen her stomach, or at least some broth. At this she grew outrageous—walked up to me, as if she was about to quarrel—and asked whether I wished her to neglect her religion and her duty to God: this she would never do! I applied some simple arguments, but they only served to irritate; and I, therefore, desisted. She afterward, several times, complained to my servant, because I had not sufficient skill to restore the tone of her appetite, without disturbing her fast.

I.

JEWS IN ABYSSINIA.

Concerning a people so interesting as the Jews, and a country so interesting as Abyssinia, it is desirable to collate every possible kind of information, both new and old. The very imperfect account obtained (see p. 184) from the Abyssinian priest whom I met at Jerusalem will receive further light from the history of Ludolf, with the commentary; in which the state of



REMARKS
ON THE
NATURAL, CIVIL, AND RELIGIOUS STATE
OF
SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND.

NATURAL STATE.

THE Author has reserved for this section a variety of notes, which he made in the course of his journey, but which have not found a place in the more regular narrative. In the arrangement of them, he has aimed at giving the reader a connected, though necessarily a rapid and imperfect, sketch of a country rendered most deeply interesting to all christians, as comprehending the scenes of the larger part of scripture-history. The circumstances of the NATURAL condition of this land—its soil, culture, produce, &c.—are described nearly in the geographical order of the author's tour.

The reader will trace in the map the various places mentioned, beginning at the northern boundary of the holy land.

From Sidon to Tyre is generally one continued plain, varying from 300 to 1000 yards in width. Nearer to Tyre it becomes considerably wider; and forms, to the east of that ancient city, on every side, a rich and pleasing country: about Ras el Ain, in particular, the meadows, variegated by streamlets, are very picturesque, and capable of being rendered highly productive.*

Having crossed the line of mountains lying half-way between Tyre and Acre, a noble prospect of rich plain lies extended beneath your feet; the boundaries of which

* It appears, however, from Acts xii. 20, that the inhabitants of this region drew, in the time of Herod, their principal sustenance from the southern parts of Palestine.

are the line of sea-coast to the west, reaching to mount Carmel; and, on the east, the hill-country on the way to Nazareth. All this land is fine soil for cultivation. At its south or south-east angle, it communicates with the vast plain of Esdraelon, hereafter to be noticed. In the month of December, as I found much to my inconvenience, the plains both of Tyre and Acre are abundantly saturated by the rains. It may be difficult to fix, with exactness, the dimensions of the plain of Acre: from north to south, however, it appears to the eye to vary in length from twelve to eighteen miles; while, in breadth, it may average nearly ten miles.

Proceeding eastward from Acre, we enter, after going about ten miles, on a long valley, commencing nearly at Abilene; which, in various parts, is well planted, and probably in all parts might be so, with olives. It abounds also with low wood, fit for burning.

Opening out of this valley is another plain, which we crossed somewhat diagonally on the way to Sephoury. This must be part of the plain of Galilee; and, from the view which we subsequently had, at a distance, of the central object, the castle of Sephoury, when entering upon this plain at the eastern end of it, on coming from the lake of Tiberias, the extent of this fertile portion of Galilee must be very considerable: it may, perhaps, be computed to be nearly twenty miles long; and, in width, varying from one or two to five or six miles; I am more doubtful of the estimate of its width, than of that of the length. It is also interrupted by some low hill-country. Its richness and suitableness for corn-land is equally apparent with that of the other plains; or, perhaps, more so. Between Sephoury and the hills of Nazareth we remarked many herds of cattle, in the midst of verdant and well-watered pasturage.

Josephus reports Nazareth to have been the principal station in Galilee. From that place to Tiberias, the road lies over hilly country, of gentle ascent and descent; leaving Tabor and Hermon on the right hand: the soil generally bears either olives, or the valena—a species of oak, the acorns of which are used in tanning; though I did not learn whether they are much employed in the country, or whether they furnish exports. The last hill, leading down to the lake of Tiberias, is very precipitous: here the country seems very dark, adust, and dry.

From Tiberias to Safet, the road is, at first, by the side of the Lake, on the north-west of which is a small plain of great freshness and verdure, very beautiful to the eye.

There is a dyeing mill near this part, which was established a few years ago by a Neapolitan in the service of the pacha of Acre: he has been dead some time. The greater part of the road to Safet is up a long ascent of four hours; the ground rocky, yet intermixed generally with good soil: much of this tract, which, when we passed it with a bleak north wind in our faces, appeared to us a dreary waste, might be made productive in the winter months: in summer it is probably burnt for want of water. Around Safet, where are several springs, there are beautiful spots of garden and orchard ground, with extensive olive yards.

From Safet to Hattyn, the first part of the road is generally on the descent, through a rocky and uncultivated tract, on the western side of an irregular and bold ravine, which appears to extend from Safet nearly to the foot of the mount of the Beatitudes. The latter part, however, of this tract, as far as to Hattyn, round which is excellent land, is, generally, soil capable of cultivation, with gentle slopes, and partially watered by brooks, which run in the valleys. Ascending to the top of the line of hills, at the end of which is the mountain of the Beatitudes, we have an extensive view before us of an elevated plain: it reaches nearly all the way to Cana of Galilee toward the left: and toward the right, the castle of Sephoury, at a considerable distance, seems to mark that this plain, with some variation of hill and dale, communicates with that which has been already described as lying between Abilene and Sephoury; forming, all together, the plain of Galilee. From Cana to Nazareth, rocky and improveable soil alternately appears.

It is to be observed, however, that, even in those ruder parts which appear among the mountains, the fig-tree, and other fruit trees may be reared, all contributing to the sustenance of man. Although the quantity of corn-land is that which mainly constitutes the wealth of a country, yet in this eastern climate, fruit is far more considered in the light of a valuable produce than it is in England. I have noticed, in fact, that there is, in various parts of the Levant, a kind of contempt felt for every sort of tree which does not give fruit. A tree merely for ornament would, in most places, be regarded as an incumbrance or at best fit only to shade a Mohammedan burying ground. Trees for timber, where such grow, as on Mount Lebanon, have, of course, their merited honor. I know not whether this estimate of the value of trees may not have been in the mind of the Psalm-

ist, when writing that passage in which he calls upon *mountains and all hills, fruitful trees, and all cedars*, to praise the Lord: (Ps. cxlviii, 9.) Certainly these two descriptions are the most common and the most desired in these parts: but particularly fruit-trees; as olives, vines, figs, pomegranates, &c. Cotton is also grown in Galilee.

But to resume our excursion. To the south of the chain of hills on which Nazareth is situated, is the vast and ever-memorable plain of Esdraelon. We computed this plain to be at least fifteen miles square; making allowance for some apparent irregularities, such as its running out, on the west, toward mount Carmel, and, on the opposite side, toward Jordan. We passed rather on the eastern side of the middle of the plain, in our way to Gennyn. Although it bears the title of 'plain,' yet it abounds with hills, which, in the view of it from the adjacent mountains, shrink into nothing. On this noble plain,* if there were perfect security from the government—a thing now unknown for centuries—twenty-five good towns, where we saw but five miserable villages, might stand, at a distance of three miles from one another, each with a population of a thousand souls, to the great improvement of the cultivation of so bountiful a soil. The land is not, indeed, neglected: but let none suppose, that, in this country, the greatest, or any thing like the greatest possible profit is made of the soil; while wars, feuds, extortions, and all the disadvantages resulting from Turkish Government and Arab rivalry are continually harassing the common people, and reducing husbandry and every art to the lowest state of degradation.

From this plain there are, on the south, several entrances, by different valleys, into the region of the mountains of Samaria. The entrance by the vale of Gennyn is,

* The author cannot resist the temptation to adorn his page with the following brilliant passage from the travels of the lamented Dr. Clarke. It is a full and rapid sketch of the martial events which, during a period of thirty centuries, have occupied unquiet man upon this spot. "Here it was," he observes, "that Balaak, descending with his ten thousand men from mount Tabor, discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron; and all the people that were with him, gathered from Harosheth of the Gentiles, unto the river of Kishon; when all the host of Sisera fell on the sword, and there was not a man left. Here also it was, that Josiah, king of Judah, fought in disguise against Necho, king of Egypt, and fell by the arrows of his antagonist. It has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in this country, from the days of Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, (in the history of whose war with Arphaxad it is mentioned as the great plain of Esdrelon,) until the disastrous march of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, christian Crusaders, and anti-christian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks and Arabs, warriors out of every nation which is under heaven, have pitched their tents upon the plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of Tabor and of Hermon." *Clarke's Travels in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land*; ch. XV.

at first, narrow; but, after a while, it becomes wider. As I returned by it toward the close of December, on one of those glowing afternoons peculiar to this Oriental climate, and so different from any thing known in England at that keen season, the slanting rays of the sun upon the newly-risen blades of corn in some parts, and the busy yokes of oxen in others, turning up the soil, previously to receiving the seed, had an effect peculiarly charming. The early rains having already well moistened the earth, the seed shews itself in about ten or twelve days after it is cast into the ground. This vale becomes still more beautiful near Sanoor, a singular fortress, built upon a steep and almost solitary hill, about half-way between Gennyn and Nablous. Here it opens into a fair champaign country for a mile or two; and then, near Gebah, closes again into a valley, rich with the finest and most extensive olive yards: these are what the Scriptures denominate the *fat valleys** of Ephraim: (Isaiah xxviii, 1, 4:) they are abundant near Nablous, and again near Sangyl; and, doubtless, in many other parts of these mountains. These valleys anciently furnished an article of export, as is mentioned by Hosea: *Oil is carried into Egypt.* (ch. xii, 1;) with a view to court the alliance of that kingdom.

Before reaching Nablous, there is some very high and dreary mountainous country—the *mountains of the height of Israel*. Yet, even here, strips of valley with rich soil repay the toil of the sower; while the sides of these ruddy sun-burnt hills seem peculiarly adapted for the training of vines. They are, however, almost totally neglected; forming, doubtless, a remarkable contrast to their state in the days of Israel's prosperity, when *the drunkards of Ephraim* (Isaiah xxviii. 1, 3, 7) prided themselves in the abundance and strength of their wines. How celebrated these parts once were for this article of produce, we learn from several notices in the Old Testament: Gideon, by a happy comparison, thus disparages his own services in the presence of the Ephraimites—*Is not the GLEANING of the grapes of*

* גת-שמן. But the name, resulting from this description of soil, has been durably attached to another spot, close to Jerusalem. It will interest the reader to be reminded of the signification of the word *Gethsemane*. It means the *Vale of Fatness*, in allusion to the fertile olive trees which anciently adorned the adjacent Mount of Olives; and which, even yet, in scanty numbers, reach from the summit of the mountain down to some parts of the valley beneath. The Vale of Fatness, which was witness to the agonies of the *Man of sorrows*, may still claim the title of Gethsemane, having several low and aged olive trees; eight of which are pointed out to pilgrims as denoting the site of the Garden of the Agony. (See Reland's *Palestine*, pp. 348, and 357.)

Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer? (Judges viii. 2:) and the restoration of Israel is described, partly by their return to the rearing of the vineyards, which should yield, as formerly they had done, an abundant vintage—*Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria: the planters shall plant, and shall eat them as common things:* (Jerem. xxxi. 5.)

This country is now almost exclusively peopled by Mohammedans, which may partly account for the neglect of the vine; yet not wholly: for the Mohammedan, though he may not drink wine, may nevertheless eat of the grape as much as he pleases. Yet, in all this route from Gennyn to Jerusalem, I saw in one place only, on the road-side, a vineyard. This was about four hours north of Jerusalem, at Yabroud; and when, on my return that way, I slept at this village, I noticed the circumstance to the Sheik: he immediately produced a large wooden bowl, full of ill-dried raisins, of no very pleasant flavor. Even these, however, the poor villages did not grow for themselves; but sent them as a kind of present or tribute to obtain favor at Damascus, which is their Pachalic: as though that curse in Deuteronomy xxviii. 30 were inherent in the very soil, and attached to the Mohammedan as well as Jewish occupiers of it—*Thou shalt plant a vineyard, and shalt not gather [read, eat,] the grapes thereof.*

South of Nablous, from Beer to Jerusalem, the country seems to assume a more forbidding aspect: yet it is not wholly uncultivated; and, with a happier population, might, in many parts, become sufficiently productive. The immediate vicinity of Jerusalem is rugged and unpromising; yet, even here, the olive* and wine might flourish, under proper culture.

In this general sketch, necessarily limited to the line of actual observation, no notice has been taken of the Vale of Sharon and the adjacent country—forming a vast and fertile plain of arable land; and extending, as it has been described to me, nearly one hundred miles, from Mount Carmel to Gaza. How valuable this land must have been to Solomon, when he made his engagement with Hiram—and to Herod, when he marked his displeasure *against them of Tyre and Sidon*—may be inferred from 1 Kings v. 7—11.

* Oil out of the flinty rock (Deut. xxxii. 13) plainly denotes, that it was not in rich land only, that this most valuable tree should grow. So also Poole, in his Synopsis, remarks on this passage, "*Olivæ inter saxa nitæ fructificans.*"

and Acts xii. 20. From old inhabitants—in remarking on the quantity of corn now brought from Egypt into Syria—I have heard that they could remember the time, when, on the contrary, corn was carried down into Egypt from Jaffa, and all the region round about that port.

It is on the regular falls of rain that the fertility of this country entirely depends—the *early and the latter rains*, in *their seasons* that is, the *early* about October, cheering the soil after the extreme heats of summer; and the *latter*, in January and February, swelling the raising crops with which the valleys are covered. From these bountiful showers of heaven, indeed, the fertility of every land springs: but how dreadful, in this country, would be such a three years' drought as was inflicted upon Israel in the days of Ahab, may easily be conceived, when it is remembered that in summer the richest soil is burnt to dust; so that a traveller, riding through the plain of Esdraelon in July or August, would imagine himself to be crossing a desert.

With regard to water, some parts of the Holy Land appeared, in the months of October and November, to labor under great privation: yet, even in this respect, art might furnish a remedy, in the tanks and cisterns, which a little industry would form and preserve. The cities and villages have such supplies; and, in every stage of seven or eight hours, there are usually found, once or twice at least, either cisterns or muddy wells. In some places, a person at the well claimed payment for the water, which he drew for us and our animals; but this was probably an imposition, although by us willingly paid. Generally, we found this want of water to be a source of great inconvenience in our journeys; for, even in October, the mid-day heat is intense, and the moisture of the body is soon exhausted. In many spots, however, as if to remind us of what Palestine once was, a beautiful strip of verdure is seen—extending sometimes for the short space of a hundred yards, at other places for seven or eight hundred—denoting the presence of water; and here would be found a small native spring bubbling up, which, after winding its simple course, and blessing the land on either side, is re-absorbed by the soil. At such places, the husbandman has often planted a few fruit-trees and vegetables: as may be seen mid-way in the valley leading from Nazareth to the plain of Esdraelon; exactly answering to the expression in Isaiah (lviii. 11)—*Thou shalt be like a watered garden; and like a spring of water, whose waters fail*

not. Here, too, the flocks are brought to drink, before they are driven in for the night; or groupes of females and children (as we saw them at Sephoury) hasten, at even-tide, with their pitchers, to take in their supply of water. Such short-lived streamlets I observed at Sychem, at Khan Leban, and in various places: they just serve, by their appearance, though not by their number, to illustrate the expressions, describing to the Israelites the land of Canaan before they entered it—*The Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of vallies and hills:* (Deut. viii. 7.) Similar, and equally exact in description, is the language of the civth Psalm: *He sendeth the springs into the vallies, which run among the hills. They give drink to every beast of the field: the wild asses quench their thirst.* The word "Ain" (Fountain) denotes the existence of such spots: at two places (Ainep near Deir el Kamr, and Yabroud near Jerusalem) the guides pointed out to me other villages at a little distance, to which they prefixed this word; distinguishing these second villages from the first by the names of Ain el Ainep, and Ain el Yabroud: probably this may be the case with many other names of places; and it may be useful to travellers to be aware of this distinction. In the Old Testament, such names have been translated with the prefix En; as En-dor, Enrogel, Engedi, &c. From the passage in Joshua xvii. 11, the distinction of places, with and without this prefix, seems to have existed from ancient times. *Manasseh had...the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, and the inhabitants of Endor and her towns.**

As the general result of my remarks on Palestine, in respect of its natural state, I cannot but own, that a peculiarly melancholy impression is made on the feelings, by seeing so much land left desolate, and so few people scattered over the face of the country. Yet there is no fair reason for pronouncing this land naturally unproductive. Its present barren state, while it is to be regarded as, in the strictest sense, denoting a judicial curse, is nevertheless such as may be traced, generally, to the operation of natural causes. A righteous God has *turned*, in the fulfilment of his long-suspended threatenings, *a fruitful land into barrenness,*

* The distance between Dor and En-dor was, however, very considerable—Dor having been a town on the sea-coast, a little south of Acre; while En-dor is represented by Eusebius as a considerable town at the foot of Mount Tabor: which may be a distance of about twenty miles. There is also a slight difference in the Hebrew spelling of the two words. See *Reland's Pales.* pp. 738, 762.

for the wickedness of them that dwelt therein: but it has been through the instrumentality of this very wickedness—the increasing wickedness of the inhabitants—that the awful change has been effected. Were good government, good faith, and good manners to flourish in this land for half a century, it would literally become again *a land flowing with milk and honey:* the proper fruits of the mountains, honey and wax, would be collected by the industrious bee from myriads of fragrant plants: the plains, the vallies, and the upland slopes, would yield corn for man, and pasturage to innumerable flocks and herds. Such a stupendous and delightful change might well gladden, not only every child of Israel, but the heart of every christian.



CIVIL STATE OF SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND.

As to the **CIVIL** condition of this region, it is almost reflected, as in a mirror, in its natural state. Commerce, and government, and domestic life, all speak one unvarying tale of degradation.

COMMERCE.

In reference to commerce, it is in my province to say but little. Damascus is the mart of Syria. Aleppo was rich; but suffered greatly by the earthquake of 1822. All the sea-coast towns have more or less trade with Cyprus, Alexandria, Smyrna, and, occasionally, with even more distant ports. Generally, however, from want of stability in their respective governments, affairs move languidly: and who, that has read the records of ancient times, but must sigh over that peculiar depression which seems to characterize the trade, if such it may be called, of the southern parts of Palestine!

It has been remarked, that Jerusalem is, by its very situation, calculated to become the centre of the earth;* cen-

* In accordance with this idea, the christians of Jerusalem take a pride in pointing out a particular spot in the church of the holy sepulchre, which they entitle, in Arabic, *Nefs ed-dinya*; that is, "the centre of the world:" it is marked by an ornamented piece of marble. The first person who noticed it to me was the Abyssinian priest, as we were walking in the Abyssinian convent, which is contiguous to that side of the church: he repeated several times, pointing in the direction of this spot, "*Nefs ed-dinya, Nefs ed-dinya!*"—as if in ecstasy at the thought of being near a place so venerable. The ancient Greeks had the same notions about Delphi—as plausible and unmeaning a conceit as could well be devised to amuse the common people, or furnish the poet with matter for high-sounding words.

tral to the three continents of the Old world: but, at present, the idea is a mere fiction, and has no practical bearing. We might almost exclaim with the weeping prophet, *Who shall have pity upon thee, O Jerusalem? or who shall bemoan thee? or who shall go aside, to ask how thou doest?* (Jerem. xv. 5.)

And where is now the commercial greatness of Tyre? Probably, no national tariff of the present day exhibits a more interesting variety of produce and manufacture, than that recorded with such minuteness in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel. And yet who, that now looks upon the desolate isle of Tyre, would suppose that she had once been the Mistress of Commerce and the Parent of Colonies? The prize of national wealth has passed from hand to hand, among four great nations, which seem to have drawn almost a circle round her, close to her very borders—from Ethiopia and Egypt, the cradle of nations, to Assyria: thence to Persia: thence again to Greece. In the centre of them all, Tyre, long after her first ruin, continued to maintain a splendid rank. But the glitter of gold has now for ages fled westward. The over-land trade of Asia has gradually, during three centuries, been crippled by the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope: other nations, other continents, have now the commerce of the earth in their hands; and probably few busy and great merchants of the present generation have ever heard much more of Tyre than the name.

All these circumstances merit notice, in delineating the civil degradation of modern Palestine.

GOVERNMENT.

With regard to the government of the country, the Pachas are so frequently changed, or so often at war,* the jurisdiction of the inferior governors of cities is so undefined, and the hereditary or assumed rights of the Sheiks of particular districts are so various, that to a person making diligent inquiry, it might be difficult to discover any settled rule by which government is directed; and, certainly, to a passer-by in Turkey, there appears to be none. It is thus that

* Burckhardt ("Travels in Syria," pp. 169—171) gives an account of the vicissitudes of the Pachalic of Tripoli, during a period comprising nearly fifty years in modern times. From his statement it appears, that the average period of the reign of those Pachas was about four years; their government being continually interrupted, and sometimes terminated, by feuds, wars, and murders.

Turkey is generally regarded by travellers. The whole empire, it may be said, in the words of Homer, *ἡνὶ θυρῶ ἰστάρης ἀμφὶ* (Iliad. κ.)—and it has the appearance of being so fortuitously balanced "on the edge of the razor," that the slightest movement seems likely to overturn it. Still it stands—not flourishing, not stable, not tolerable to an intelligent lover of mankind—yet existing! As it exhibits at the fountain-head the form of absolute despotism,* so all the subordinate institutions of the country, down to the Sheik of the most insignificant village, take their character from the source.

It were superfluous to dwell at length on this topic. The general state of things in Turkey is this: absolute power, often stretching beyond the reach of control, finds, nevertheless, a counteracting principle, in that extreme degree of acuteness to which, in individuals, the instinct of self-preservation is sharpened by the constant apprehension of wrong.† Hence springs that conflict, not always visible,

* The following extract from Burckhardt places, in a striking light, the state of insecurity in which the subjects of the despotic rulers of these countries live:—

"A few years ago, Djebail was the residence of the Christian, Abd el Ahad: he and his brother Georgios Bas were the head men of the Emir Bechir; and, in fact, were more potent than their master. Georgios Bas resided at Deir el Kamr. The district of Djebail was under the command of Abd el Ahad, who built a very good house here. But the two brothers shared the fate of all christians who attempt to rise above their sphere: they were both put to death in the same hour by the Emir's orders. Indeed there is scarcely an instance, in the modern history of Syria, of a christian or Jew having long enjoyed the power or riches which he may have acquired: these persons are always taken off in the moment of their greatest apparent glory. Abd el Hak, at Antioch; Hanna Kubbe, at Ladakle; Karaly, at Aleppo; are all examples of this remark. But, as in the most trifling, so in the most serious concerns, the Levantine enjoys the present moment, without ever reflecting on future consequences." (Burckhardt's Syria, pp. 179, 189.)

At p. 118 of the preceding Journal, the death of Haïm, the Jew prime-minister of Djezzar, Pacha of Acre, was mentioned. The following almost-*prophetic* language of Burckhardt (Travels, p. 180) was thus fulfilled in reference to this very man: not, indeed, that it requires any thing more than an ordinary measure of sagacity to foresee what will one day be the fate of any tool or favorite of a Turkish ruler:—

"The house of Hayne [Haïm,] the Jew Seraf, or banker, at Damascus and Acre, whose family may be said to be the real governors of Syria, and whose property, at the most moderate calculation, amounts to three hundred thousand pounds sterling, are daily exposed to the same fate. The head of the family, a man of great talents, has lost his nose, his ears, and one of his eyes, in the service of Djezzar: yet his ambition is still unabated; and he prefers a most precarious existence, with power, in Syria, to the ease and security he might enjoy by emigrating to Europe."

† "It has been before stated (see p. 127) that civil protection can be obtained in these countries only by purchase. As an illustration of the mode in which this is effected, and the burden of taxation divided by different religious bodies, the following account from the Jesuits, when in Syria, is remarkably in point: which must serve as an apology for the length of this note.

"The kind of persecution," observes one of their correspondents, "which the Turks exercise on the Christians, consists not so much in torments and death, as in pecuniary fines, called *Avanias*. The usage here is, that when any one accuses any of the christians on the ground of religion, they seize the principal individuals of the nation of the accused person; and, after having bastinadoed them, they demand a contribution, which is levied on the whole nation. Greek, Syrian, or whichever it may be. Some years since, the Pacha being gone to Mecca, the Catholics were accused of having become Franks, and of praying with the Franks, in consequence of which a heavy *Avania* was imposed on them, which reduced them to a state of poverty worse than death. To remedy so great an evil, I had the honor to write to our French ambassador

but always operating, between force and fraud, between man blinded by authority and the cunning sufferer, which characterizes the civil relations of society here. A less enlightened, or a more demoralizing state, can hardly be conceived: but it exists at every step of public and private life, and is the key to most proceedings either at the court or before the tribunal.

In the allotment of authority—divided and subdivided as it is, yet always nominally, and often really, absolute—there is something which forcibly reminds a traveller of patriarchal times; when, at each journey of a day or two days' distance, a prince, or a judge, and not unfrequently a king, was to be met with. In the short distance from Jerusalem by way of Nablous to Sanoor, the three governors of those cities were represented to me as perfectly independent of one another, each a king in his own district; all, indeed, responsible to the Pacha of Damascus, and removable at pleasure, but probably not one of them knowing the limits of his own jurisdiction.

The subordinate Sheiks of the villages, aware of the precarious tenure by which these their temporary superiors remain in office, are very apt to be troublesome and unmanageable; endeavoring to sustain regal importance, each in his own petty sphere. They will often tell the Frank traveller, that they respect neither Mootselim, Bey, Pacha, nor Sultan: to hear them speak, one would suppose that the governor of a place possessed authority no further than the walls of his own city: and in the remoter parts of a Pachalic, this is not unlikely to be the case; and the traveller is liable to feel the effects of their assumed independence, by the presents which they will demand—payment of which they

at Constantinople, to request his protection in favor of the persecuted Catholics; and that he would use his influence at the Porte to obtain a firman, which should subject all the christians without distinction, and not the Catholics alone, to the Avania that might be imposed. In the reply with which his excellency honored me, he promised to leave nothing untried with the Paeha, in order to procure the execution of my design, and that he would accompany his request with a present. Some time after, the Schismatics having, according to their custom, accused the Catholics of being Franks, a tax of many purses* was laid upon them. Following up my project, I engaged the principal persons to request that this Avania should be levied on all the christians without exception; urging, that, after all, with the Turks, there was no distinction between one christian and another christian, whether Frank or not, Catholic or not. Their plea was heard and admitted: and we have thus taken from the Schismatics the handle which they had so often, and with success, employed to annoy the Catholics. We hope that this law will remain in force; at least that it will continue as long as the reign of the present governor." (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Vol. 1. pp. 373-374.*)

* A purse is five hundred piastres.

endeavor to exact, or otherwise in some manner put the stranger to inconvenience.

In the southern parts of the Holy Land the annoying spirit of these characters was more apparent to me than in the northern; but probably it exists in both.*

Imagination is often led to picture with how much greater inconvenience, in the earlier times of Scripture history, a stranger must have moved from place to place, when every petty district had its sovereign; Edom her dukes, and Canaan her kings. Thus, in Joshua xii. 9—24, for a space not larger, perhaps, than the Principality of Wales, are enumerated not fewer than thirty-one kings. The extent of dominion possessed by some of them would probably not exceed that of many an English nobleman during the feudal times. In similar style, Benhadad, king of Syria, musters in his train two-and-thirty kings; 1 Kings xx. 1: and, at the 14th verse, we find Ahab, king of the northern half of the Holy Land, with *princes of the provinces* under him; provinces, no doubt, very small, yet their title princely. The terms KING and KINGDOM are often thus applied, both in the Old and New Testaments, to a very small portion of authority: they may occasionally denote nothing more than the governor of a single city, and of the land immediately surrounding it. Thus, in St. Luke (chap. xix. 12.) the nobleman who went into a far country, and left with his ten servants a sum which, in the margin of our Bibles, is computed to be between thirty and forty pounds sterling, (conveying no great idea of his wealth,) is represented as going *to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return*; that is, possibly, to be invested with authority, for a limited period, over some city, or to take possession of some considerable estate.

Before concluding these excursive notices of the condition of the Holy Land, I cannot omit to remark with what peculiar vividness the facts, the imagery, and the allusions of the sacred writings affect the mind, on surveying the present living scenes of this country. Whether it arise from the growing habit of exploring and noting every scriptural illustration; and that practice rendered more alert by the consciousness, that every step here is, in a

* Strabo has summed up the character of these people in one very pithy expression. Speaking of the Itureans and Arabs, as being in possession of the mountainous parts he concisely adds—*ακατάγνωτοι πάλαι*—an expression which will rest long on the memory, and imagination of every traveller in the Levant. (Strabo, Book xvi. "Syria.")

manner upon *holy ground*—or whether it be that Palestine does really still exhibit a striking, though faded likeness of her former self—certainly I felt, in common with many who have gone before me, that, independently of its spiritual use, the Bible was my most interesting travelling-companion. Egypt formerly had excited in me much of this feeling: but Palestine seemed like the Bible laid open, and commented upon leaf by leaf. In fact, the mind is sometimes drawn aside so far by these graphic musings, that there is some risk of studying the sacred volume in the spirit of mere mental gratification. How often have I found it to be the case, that when my object was to read for edification, the thoughts have been imperceptibly beguiled into a series of pleasing critical reflections; till, at length, conscience has almost suffered a syncope, and the better purpose has been for a while forgotten. Few studious persons, perhaps, will find their devotional hours wholly innocent in this respect: but they probably, will be most prone to this kind of aberration, who have personally, with their eyes, beheld the actual scenes described in scripture—a sight truly enviable, but one which bequeaths to the imagination a snare, as well as a charm.



MORAL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND.

ONE of the beautiful parables of our Saviour, recorded by the evangelist St. Matthew, so aptly describes that intermingling of error and iniquity which was soon to follow after the promulgation of the Gospel, that it will very properly introduce the remarks which are to be offered concerning the MORAL AND RELIGIOUS state of the Holy Land.

Another parable put he forth unto them; saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but, while men slept, his enemy came, and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. So the servants of the householder came, and said unto him, Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. (Matt. xiii. 24—28.)

These words were spoken by Christ to the multitudes who pressed to hear Him discourse from the ship, on the margin of the Lake of Tiberias. They describe, among other countries, that very region which first was blessed with His doctrine—the first field sowed with good seed. They further represent the introduction of abounding errors and iniquities. Our great enemy, the devil, by false doctrines, was to corrupt the profession of christianity, and to fill society with his delusions; and this effect would be so visible to the true servants of Christ, that they would come to him complaining, and surprised at the melancholy condition of His church.

In Galilee (where this parable was uttered by our Lord,) in Samaria, in Judea, in Syria, and in all the neighboring regions, this effect has taken place; and that to a degree so excessive, that, while the tares of false religion and bad morals have every where overrun the soil, it has become, in the present day, very difficult to discover, with certainty, where are the blades of wheat which have sprung from good seed.

The introductory chapter of this volume has minutely depicted the various forms of religious opinion, which exist in these countries: no one, who intelligently surveys this mass of error sown in Western Asia, can refrain from acknowledging, *An enemy hath done this!* It would be superfluous, therefore, to dwell on this subject, any further than to point out, in a distinct manner, some of the leading circumstances which conduce to the fixing and perpetuating of this state of things.

1. It is worthy of observation, in the first place, that THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS OF THE VARIOUS BODIES OF MEN IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE, ARE, FOR THE MOST PART, INTIMATELY INTERWOVEN WITH THEIR POLITICAL FEELINGS AND THEIR EXTERNAL HABITS.

There are four principal bodies, which may be viewed as pointedly illustrating this remark. The JEWS, residing in the Holy Land, cherish constantly the feeling of an ancient, hereditary and indefeasible claim to the possession of the soil. The MOHAMMEDANS, actual possessors of the country, in no case recognise a separation of the civil from the religious right of dominion: the sword propagates and maintains their creed, and their creed perpetuates this office of the sword; and thus have the sword and the creed mutually sustained, for more than a thousand years, both in theory and in fact, their original fellowship. The CHRISTIANS—

whether we regard them as inheriting the intolerant principles of the lower era of the Greek empire, or as being in each successive age contaminated with those of the politico-hierarchical system of Papal Rome, have no clear conception of the kingdom of Christ, as being not of this world. As to the fourth remaining principal body, the DRUSES, probably their national existence is owing to their detached and mystic doctrines. The minor bodies are, perhaps, not less upheld in their separate form by the peculiar religious tenets of each. There is no notion, however, frivolous and absurd, which is not sufficient to hold one body of men in separation from others; and that notion, once established and recognised, becomes the bond of compact and attachment among the members of a body thus self-erected.

Nor is it a mere variety of abstract opinion which exists in Syria, marked in the differences of their creeds and civil institutions: they have their outward and visible signs of distinction, by which the eye of the most illiterate man is practised in separatism, and kept ever on the alert, to discern who are for, and who against, his sect. The different bodies of men have not only their different creeds and different books, but they have their different dresses, in various costume from head to foot—their different quarters, in the city, in the country, in the mountains—their different chieftains, friends, and partisans, in the court and on their journeys: they have their differing usages, attitudes, and phrases—every thing external, as well as internal, to distinguish them. Civil, and domestic, and hereditary animosities being, in many instances, grafted upon their religious opinions, these opinions have all the warmth of secular interests to uphold and animate them. To move into a new religious path, would be to break the bonds of society. Bigotted attachment to his own religion is the general feeling of every man: to choose a new course of religious opinions, on conviction of their truth, is almost unknown. To step from one party to another (I speak now of the above-mentioned four principal bodies, not of all their sub-divisions) would be nothing less than to forsake father, and mother, and brother, and sister, and house, and lands; and, in very many cases, life also. Such is the resolute distinctness maintained by these various bodies!—each exclusive, intolerant, compact, self-attached; each generally reserved, uncommunicative, and jealous; each ready to resent, with the loftiest scorn, the idea of becoming proselyte to another.

In this respect—in the intensity of all the passions emanating from heresy and schism—how far worse is the divided state of these communities, than that of the many religious sects in our enlightened country—sects, which have been wont to look, indeed, with a most invidious jealousy on one another; but which are learning, and will yet more frankly learn, how much there is of estimable character in each other—how much of infirmity in human judgment—and how practicable it is for humble and sincere men to agree, and to co-operate in measures of prime utility, while differing in minor points.

2. But it is not merely in the leading branches of religious profession that the different bodies are disunited: THE RESPECTIVE RELIGIONS (those three, more especially, with which Europeans are most conversant, the Jews, the Christians, and the Mohammedans) HAVE EACH OF THEM THEIR SUBDIVISIONS; TURNING UPON A MOST ESSENTIAL PARTICULAR.

“All the religions,” says the acute Leslie,* “and all the sects in the world, are built upon the dispute betwixt these two—whether men are to govern themselves by their own private judgment, or to be determined by the authority of others, in their faith or religion.” Thus, among the Jews, a principal part are attached to the Talmudical system, and are the obsequious slaves of those Rabbies who are considered as the greatest adepts in ancient interpretations; while the Karaites are free to follow the simple text of the Hebrew scriptures. Among Christians, a large number are under the yoke of a certain undefined, yet very oppressive influence; sometimes bending beneath the weight of the voluminous writings of the fathers or the authority of the general councils; at others, crouching to the assumed infallibility of the Papal hierarchy: while the Protestants, few in number, uphold the right and duty of every man to search the scriptures for himself. Between the two principal sects of Mohammedans, a somewhat similar distinction subsists. Thus, in no one of these nominal bodies is there unity—no one profession seems to stand for all of its own kind. No sooner are the principal sections of society described, but there must be drawn, in each, a broad line of sub-demarcation.

3. The principal religious characteristic, however, of Syria and the Holy Land, common to all its professions and

* See Leslie's Dissertation concerning Private Judgment and Authority. Section I.

sects, at once the child and the parent of unvarying ignorance, is that **SYSTEM OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRIESTHOOD AND LAITY**, felt even where not avowed; according to which it seems to be the interest of a few professed teachers to hold the rest of their fellow-creatures in darkness.

Knowledge, in reference to many subjects is inevitably the property of a few, in comparison with the bulk of mankind: but religious knowledge is the common property of all; and the very scope of the appointment of teachers in the christian religion is, that all may alike become well learned in the oracles of truth—*thoroughly furnished unto all good works—truly wise unto salvation.* From this equitable line, how widely have men of every clime and every creed deviated; till priestcraft has become a term of popular reproach, from which even the purest, the most disinterested and enlightened persons of the sacred order, cannot always find, in the public opinion, candor sufficient to acquit them!

But see with what an oppressive influence this distinction operates in Syria! How far is the interval by which the professors of each set of dogmas distance the illiterate! Hence, the high-minded Pharisee, the *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, closing the door of knowledge to the "*accursed people.*"* Hence, the Akals, and the Djahelin—initiated and uninitiated—among the Druses. Hence the Ulemas, with the Koran in their hand, giving them civil as well as religious prerogative over the Fellah that trembles at their nod. Hence the confessor, with a power little short of inquisitorial, although dependent on popular opinion—a sentiment, however, so inwrought into the habits and feelings of professing christians in these countries, that the crouching penitent no more dares to canvass this authority of a fellow-man, which besets him so closely, so visibly, so tangibly, so oppressively, than he would dare to question the existence or the government of God himself. When it is considered, that, even in the most enlightened society, few rise into action higher than the ordinary level of custom—few, very few, in reality, practically deciding for themselves; that is, freely and wisely—it must be painfully evident, that, in a country

* "This people who knoweth not the law are *cursed.*" (John vii. 46.) The root of the original Oriental word has a two-fold sense, implying both *prohibition* and *curse*; and thus it is used in Syria at this day. The two words are, in fact, correlative—prohibitory law, supported by penal sanctions. We would gladly, therefore, soften down this expression to—"the prohibited people." But when we observe the incredible freedom and fury with which so many sanhedrims and councils have thundered out the awful word "*anathema.*" I fear we must allow to this passage in St. John's Gospel, all its apparent bitterness and profundeness.

like Palestine, where the means of knowledge are so scanty, and the encouragements to improvement less than nothing, he must be indeed an extraordinary character, who should exert, on rational principles, his liberty to choose in religion for himself. He must have emancipated his mind from inveterate habits: he must have cast hereditary notions into the grave of his ancestors: he will be doing a kind of sacred violence to the public feeling; and he may reckon upon the certain indignation and opposition of a small but energetic aristocracy, with whom alone has rested, hitherto, the prerogative of thinking both for themselves and for others.

It might be supposed that the existence of sacred books among the different bodies would furnish facilities for exploring where lie the errors of the various religious systems; and that appeal to such books, consequently, would lead, in some measure, to the discovery of truth. There is, no doubt, some weight in this consideration. An authorized book is, at all times, a standard for investigation. Most of the people of Palestine have such books, by them accounted sacred: such are the Pentateuch—the Hebrew Scriptures—the whole of the Old and New Testaments—the Koran—and the supposed books of the Druses.* But, in Syria, what is the amount of this remark—that “truth lies in books?” How many are the copies of these books, and in whose possession do they rest? Where either copies of these books are scarce, or the art of reading not general, or the reading of these books prohibited, what can it avail to the benefit of the population at large, to be persuaded,

The truth lies somewhere, if we knew but where—†

Of books it may truly be said, that, to an uneducated country, they are, in all respects, the converse of that which they are in an enlightened nation. Where all can read, and all are free to read, books seem almost to form an integral part of the community: they affect the public mind: they supply materials of friendly conversations: they speak, and take part in the dialogue: they challenge trial at the bar of general opinion: they live, and act; and are not forgotten if their services have stood the test of experience, and proved beneficial to society: they travel to far distant countries: they multiply their own species, and become an

* Perhaps we might add the Acts of a very few of the christian councils.

† Cowper's "Hope."

immense and influential family—as it were, a world of separate, but not absent, spirits; fit associates for those intellectual men who entertain and cherish their company. All this, and more, might be affirmed of the wondrous art of communicating and perpetuating our ideas, by means of writing and printing. But in an ignorant land, all this is not. The copious materials of historical fact, of logical argument, of moral or religious sentiment, which have been from time to time committed to paper, are negligently kept, and often consigned to oblivion. Study, in such a land as Turkey, seems like an unprofitable idleness—a library, waste of money, or a dangerous indication of superfluous wealth. On religious subjects, especially, the sacred books are claimed as the exclusive property of the sacred order: their possession of these documents, while it diminishes the mental power of their spiritual subjects, adds a mysterious eminence to their own dignity. Well aware of that popular frailty which leads men gratuitously to admire and magnify every object that lies beyond the reach of general examination, it becomes their interest to keep fairly out of sight the standard records of their religion: while the mass of the community—in religious matters, ever more credulous than inquiring; more prone to believe the veriest trifle, than to examine the grounds of faith—hear, with complacency, that their religion is written in venerable and ancient records; known to a few. Thus it is, that almost every man in Syria has his passions, in reality, still more firmly rivetted to his respective religious system, by the persuasion that it has been settled and drawn up in a dogmatical form—ready to convince him, if skeptical, or to overwhelm him, if schismatically disposed. He, therefore, neither doubts nor differs, nor even inquires. If he cannot quote the contents of his sacred volume, he yet remains attached to the abstract idea of its existence; bowing to his religious Superior, as the legitimate master of his mind and of his conscience.

The enfeebling influence of this spiritual degradation of the mass of society is so manifest, that it is impossible for an intelligent person to have much to do with the natives of these countries without perceiving, what appears to be sometimes a most perverse obliquity, at other times an unaccountable deficiency, of judgment. Their natural powers of forming an opinion have plainly been either distorted or depressed; rather, we may say, both. It is surprising to see with what indifference they entertain a seri-

ous argument: they regard it as a thing out of their province. They have no notion of one continued line of reasoning. The most frivolous reasons make an impression on their minds, when supported by the authority of a name; while the most self-evident and important truths seem to have no weight, when the appeal is made to the conviction of their own conscience. Occasionally biassed by some unknown motive, they appear for a while ardently to espouse the cause of truth: but soon they relapse into some gross absurdity; and exhibit an inconsistency with themselves, of which they appear neither ashamed, nor even conscious. It seems with them to be no great objection to a new opinion, that it is contradictory to one which previously they had maintained with ardor.

That persons grown up to manhood should thus remain, with reference to religious subjects, in the infancy of understanding, is an indication that they have but little feeling of moral responsibility. How defective is their moral sense. The love of truth cannot, in fact, be regarded as characteristic of the people of these countries. In all transactions, it is requisite to engage their interest, as the surest, often the only, guarantee to their keeping their word. Neither is there any thing in the institutions of the different governments, which might serve as an effectual counterpoise to this spirit of bad faith. Justice may casually be obtained, and true evidence may sometimes be had; but it is best not to hazard the experiment of seeking either.

Where freedom of thought and principles of integrity are rare, little of the ardor of enterprise, and less of the spirit of disinterested love to man, can be expected. To professing Christians in Syria, it is difficult to convey an idea of the principle of Protestant missions: they seem to regard our projects as the schemes of a party; and never to have learned the signification of those words, *We seek not yours but you*. All, that they have formerly seen of Frank missionaries, must have prepared them to look with jealousy on the entrance of Protestants; nor can Protestants ever succeed among them, but by maintaining entire purity of motive and consistency of conduct. By upholding the sacred duty of aiming at the conversion of all who are not christians, and by manifesting a spirit willing to suffer for the cause of Christ, the missionaries of the West may expect to be the means, both of evangelizing the unconverted

and of restoring the fallen and decayed christian churches to primitive purity in doctrine and practice.

But it is time to draw a veil over this dark picture. One prominent object only shall be briefly noticed. Deserted as this land now is—without prosperous agriculture or commerce, and with little of learning or piety—it still maintains its hold on the feelings of a large portion of mankind, as containing within its boundaries that city, to which the professors of the three most celebrated religions have been accustomed to look with irresistible religious recollections. The Shechinah, the Holy Sepulchre, and the mosque of the second Caliph, have attracted, respectively, the almost-adoring eyes of the Jew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan. To all of them, Jerusalem is as a prize!—so strong is the influence of that name, holding entire nations, for more than a thousand years, under its magic spell! Yet if—as it fitly may—Jerusalem be viewed as representing in epitome the religious state of that country, in which it still seems to bear the character of a metropolis, hardly could there be found a truer emblem of the condition of Palestine. *Thou sealest up the sun; full of spiritual folly, and perfect in wretchedness.** In no place which he has visited, did the Author ever feel, so nearly touching him as in Jerusalem, the corruption, the peril, and the wretchedness, which seem to infect every thing dependent on Turkish government: in other principal cities of the Levant, there is a more sensible feeling of protection, both from the habits of the natives and from the presence of European residents; but, here, almost none. Here, therefore, that anxiety which is suffered by all unprotected subjects of the Porte, was rendered more visible to European eyes. We lived in the midst of it, and were daily conversant with its influence. All, whenever in memory I reflect upon it, seems like a vision of sorrow, destitute of relief—the Turkish government, grinding the faces of the poor—the subjects pining, yet split into implacably hostile parties—the Jews, ever the first to suffer, lingering out their days in a kind of living death; apparently hoping, yet manifesting none of the delight and energy inspired by the genuine taste of hope—the christians, professing the most benign religion, yet exhibiting none of that spirit by which *all men* are to recognise the disciples of Christ—innumerable sanctuaries, and shrines, and venerated places, and crowds of devotees

* See Ezek. xxviii. 12.

making many prayers; yet all beneath the frown of a jealous God, who looks with favor neither on the Jew, nor on the Mussulman, nor on those who bear the name, and the name only, of the Blessed Redeemer! The stern rebuke, perhaps also the tender expostulation, of the Prophet, may still be conceived thrilling through the streets of this doomed city—*Woe unto thee, Jerusalem! wilt thou not be made clean? When shall it once be?*

Whether the system of making a pilgrimage to the Holy City has a tendency to promote genuine devotion, may safely be left to be tried, on the following considerations. He who leaves his quiet home and regular employments for this errand, the nearer he approaches to the Holy City, the greater will be the crowd in which he will find himself. His voyage probably will be in a small vessel, with a great number of fellow-passengers; many of whom, such is the lamentable superstition of multitudes in these countries, will think it sinful to eat meat, but no sin to become intoxicated with wine or brandy, two or three days of the week, being fast-days. At every stage he is liable to be thrown into such company. At Jerusalem, whether retiring to his convent, or visiting the Holy Sepulchre, or going his rounds with other devotees to visit sacred spots, he is almost always in a crowd. A fervor of the spirits may, not unfrequently, be excited, by persons feeling themselves surrounded by a throng, who pray aloud, beat their breasts, weep bitterly, and strike the ground with their foreheads; but on a subsequent occasion, when some festival sets them for a short space at liberty from the rigor of a long penance, they rush with no less eagerness into excess of riot. They consider it to be doing honor to a Saint's-Day, to feast luxuriously, so far as their means permit. The convents, at these times, are crowded: in the room which I occupied alone, about ten feet square, pilgrims as many as ten would be accommodated, when the season was full: others sleep at the door, on the terraces, or at the church-porch. Let any reflecting christian say, whether such circumstances are calculated to cherish or to extinguish the spirit of devotion; or whether the devotees are likely to be heard and accepted for their *much speaking*, or their innumerable bowings and prostrations. And what, alas! remains to the pilgrim, after he has spent himself in this way, for weeks and months?—a casket of beads!—some ornamented wax-candles; one, especially,

which has been lighted at the Holy Fire!—and a Paper,* signed by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, certifying that he has visited all the holy places; and that, in brief, he has, by his pilgrimage, done God service, acquired merit, and procured the pardon of his sins, through the intercession of the Virgin Mary and all the saints! Millions have come from far, to drink of this poisoned fountain, which they have mistaken for the water of life!

* See Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, pp. 25, 26.

NOTICES
OF THE FORMER STATE OF
RELIGION AND OF MISSIONS
IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN AND LEVANT:
WITH
REMARKS AND SUGGESTIONS RELATIVE TO
FUTURE MEASURES.

WORK OF AN EVANGELIST, AND EDUCATION OF
NATIVES.

In entering on those remarks and suggestions, which arise from studying—either through the medium of books, or by actual observation, or by the help of both—the religious condition of the Levant, the first place is naturally given to duties of prime utility.

It is not, however, designed, under the twofold title of this chapter, to introduce any thing like a regular treatise on the interesting subjects therein specified. Many valuable works already exist, and many most appropriate addresses are continually presented to missionaries, on these topics: it would be both superfluous and presumptuous, therefore, for the author to pretend to any thing either novel or peculiarly instructive on these subjects in general.

Neither is it his intention, by placing together the work of an evangelist and the education of natives, to intimate that there is any parity between the two, in respect of their importance. The first is a great, comprehensive, Scriptural work; having all nations, all ages, all modes of wise

practical operation, within its scope—Education is a branch of useful service, intended almost exclusively for the benefit of the young, and not necessarily to engage the time and strength of the Evangelist; who has to study, preach, instruct, converse, correspond, travel; and, in these various successive engagements, he may rightly feel that he is performing one complete, individual work: but he, who undertakes to educate, must, to answer reasonable expectations, give himself almost entirely to this employment; attached to one place, to one object, and to one class of his fellow-creatures. In a certain degree, however, missionaries have generally united both these engagements; or, to speak more correctly, they have, while aiming to perform the work of an evangelist, taken up, in a subordinate measure, and for a season, the particular branch of educating the young. Without further noticing their disparity, this circumstance alone might justify their being placed together in the following remarks.

NOTICES OF PAST MEASURES.

It is, however, principally on another account, that the two subjects have been thus blended in one title. In following up the plan which the Author proposed to himself, of exhibiting fully what missionary exertions have formerly been made in Syria and Palestine, and thus introducing his suggestions relative to future measures, he soon found, that, in the materials collected by him, the two subjects of evangelizing and educating are so generally interwoven together, that it would answer no good practical end to attempt to separate them. The Romish missions in the Levant have long been an interesting object of observation: although not to be approved for their fundamental principles, there is yet much to be learned from the consistency, perseverance, and energy of the measures pursued.* The Author is

* It would have been most gratifying to be able to state, that, in these later ages, there had been missions for the purpose of propagating the Gospel, sent forth by the Greek, the Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, and other Oriental churches. It is true that the errors of those churches are not what we should wish to see propagated; but had they been imbued with the missionary spirit, there is reason to think that they might have been rendered the instruments of diffusing scriptural light among other nations; and thus of purifying themselves from their errors. But the abject slavery and extreme poverty of some of them, the gross ignorance and almost barbarous condition of others, and, above all, the want of a liberal and intelligent and ardent spirit of piety in most of them, will serve to account for their not being characterized by missionary enterprise. Their ecclesiastics, indeed, are not unfrequently moving to and fro, in the various regions between Constantinople and Calcutta; but their objects, so far as the Author has been able to gather, cannot, in the least degree, be identified with the work of preaching the Gospel to an unevangelized people.

persuaded that every Protestant will feel gratified and instructed, by many passages in the following extracts; by others, stimulated; and, by some, warned to avoid erroneous and established in his judgment of right principles. Under this conviction, he will proceed to make selections from two documents, which will mutually illustrate each other; the one defining the principles, the other exhibiting the practice, of the Roman Catholic missions in Syria and Palestine. From these retrospective sketches, the reader will naturally be led to the suggestions which conclude the chapter.

The first document is to be found in a work printed at Rome, under the following title:—*Synodus Provincialis a Reverendissimo Domino D. Patriarcha Antiocheno, Archiepiscopis et Episcopis, necnon Clero seculari et regulari Nationis Syrorum Maronitarum, una cum Reverendissimo Domino Josepho Simonio Assemano, Sedis Apostolicæ Aulegato, in Monte Libano celebrata, anno 1736 diebus 30 Septembris, prima et secunda Octobris, Clemente XII. Pontifice Maximo.* This work, a small quarto volume, was printed at Rome 1820; by a special order of the Propaganda, dated September 13, 1819, stating that only one Latin copy existed at Rome.*

The decrees of this council are divided into four parts. The sixth chapter of the fourth part is entitled, *De Scholis et Literarum Studiis de Seminariis.* This gives a historical view of the subject of education in the East; together with a particular account of three more recent institutions for learning, in and near mount Lebanon. It seems to me probable that the whole of this treatise was drawn up by Asseman himself: both from the circumstance of his having been the Pope's legate to the council; and, still more, from the close resemblance which it bears to some parts of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. (See especially vol. iii. part 2. chap. 15. which treats of the same subject, and contains many parallel passages, *verbatim*.)

In the Appendix to these decrees (article 42,) are given the Rules of the College established in Mount Lebanon, entitled, *Regulæ Seminarii erecti in Monte Libano ab Urbano P. P. VIII. dat. die 30 Julii Anno 1625.* After several preliminary regulations, a series of rules is given under three divisions or chapters: and here the title is altered to *Regulæ Collegii Missionis Maronitarum in Syria.*

* The Maronite Vice-Patriarch, Mar Hanna Maroni, informed the Author that they have a copy, in Arabic, among the archives of the Maronite church.

These two parts of this work will furnish a view of the Objects of Romish Missionaries in Mount Lebanon, and of their System of Education. The extracts which are here given have been in some parts abridged.

The following series relates to the subject of missions.

"On the Design of the Institution.—Let all those, who are to be trained according to this Institution, to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord, know, that there are four principal parts of their office: namely, To instil into youth and other persons the precepts of christian doctrine; to instruct the clergy, or those designed for the clerical state, in the Syriac and Arabic grammar; to preach the word of God; and finally, to hear sacramental confessions. But, above all, to win souls, is the main object which they must in all things set before themselves.

"On the care of their own souls.—It is necessary, that they, who are chosen to the office of the apostolic mission, should be imbued with the manners and discipline of the apostles. On no account conferring, therefore, with flesh and blood, let them regard no place on earth as their country, all of us being exiles: as the Apostle says, *For we have here no continuing city, but we seek one to come.* Let them, no where, engage in public or private worldly business: let not pious hearts be defiled with earthly dust. Let them not suppose that gain is godliness: let them be as far as possible removed from filthy lucre. Utterly denying all worldly lusts, let them live soberly, righteously, and godly; so studying the salvation of others, as not to neglect their own: revolving in their mind that question of our Lord—*What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?* And let each one consider those words of St. Paul as spoken to himself—*Take heed unto thyself, and to the doctrine: continue in them; for, in doing this, thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee.*

"On the special care of Chastity.—It is the duty of Missionaries to avoid, in every way, all offending of the people; so that the good savor of Christ may be in every place. Let them remember, therefore, that they dwell in the midst of a suspicious nation [Turkey in Asia,] and that there is nothing more exposed to accusations and calumnies than the virtue of the clergy. Let them reflect, therefore, and seriously consider, that, before God, it may be made a matter of blame, not only if they commit an act inconsistent with their vow of perfect purity; but even if they do not con-

duct themselves in a cautious and studiously modest manner, so as utterly to avoid the smallest unfavorable suspicion. Let them aim, therefore, at sustaining such gravity and modesty, that, by the sight of their spotless conversation among the nations, he, who is of the contrary part, may be ashamed, having no evil thing to speak concerning them.

"Of Spiritual Exercises.—Since neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth, but God who giveth the increase, it is necessary that the missionaries seek to obtain from Him, both the spirit of apostolical laborers, and likewise the good success of their labors. Let them, therefore, always walk before Him. To Him let them frequently lift up their hearts. Especially, once in the year, let them, for the space of several days, withdraw themselves from every other business,* and give themselves to spiritual exercises, exclusively occupied in the contemplation of things heavenly. If not at too great a distance, they are to observe this sacred leisure in the nearest monasteries of their residence, those especially pertaining to the congregation of Mount Lebanon. In the year of their electing the Prefect, let them come together into one place, and let these spiritual exercises precede their election. And that they may continually grow in the Spirit, let them, twice at least daily, be occupied in mental prayer and in the reading of holy books.

"On avoiding the courts of princes, and all hindrances of missions.—Let neither the prefect, nor any one of the associated [*aliquis Sociorum*], suffer himself, under any pretext whatever, to be induced to reside in the courts of princes whether ecclesiastical or lay: neither let them suffer themselves to be bound, by any condition, to be in subservience to them, or in attendance upon them, recollecting that saying of the apostles—*It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables.*

"On the partition of the provinces.—It shall pertain to the prefect to assign to the missionaries their province respectively, reserving to himself one for his own culture.

"On their stay in single places.—And whereas the harvest truly is plentiful, but the laborers are few, the stay of a

* This is a very interesting practice, provided for by the church of Rome. Persons would thus retire from worldly cares for ten, fifteen, or twenty days, or longer; paying a sum of money sufficient for their maintenance to the Guardian of a monastery. An establishment of this nature existed in former times in Malta, at the south-west part of Florian: the building still remains. It is thus described in the work entitled, *Malta Illustrata*, Lib. III. p. 335: *Chiesa della Madonna di Manresa, col casamento, che contiene molte stanze, per divoto ritiro di quei che vi volessero fare gli esercizi spirituali.*

missionary in one place shall never, except for weighty causes, be prolonged beyond the space of three years: at the expiration of such three years, therefore, he shall be ordered by the prefect to proceed to cultivate, in like manner, the other regions of his assigned province. The prefect is to consider himself, also, comprehended in this rule; and to migrate to some other place, at the expiration of his triennial residence. In the execution of this plan, the more populous are to be preferred to the less populous districts; unless the situation of a village or hamlet be such, that he judges there will be an easier access, and consequently a greater concourse to the mission from villages in the neighborhood.

"The method of culture in the provinces.—That the laborers may best promote the end of this sacred institution, let them so divide the offices of their ministry, as to have a school constantly open; or let them take care that such open school be kept by others, themselves presiding over it. Let them publicly expound the catechism* or the christian doctrines,† especially on festivals, in the church or in the oratory, during the hours of afternoon: for, in the mass at the parish church they are to deliver a sermon to the people.‡ Let them, moreover, be so diligent in cultivating the places of their residence, as to be mindful to make excursions to the neighboring villages and hamlets allotted to them. This service they are especially to perform on festivals and also at the four times of solemn fasting, when the Oriental christians are wont to frequent the sacraments of confession and the communion. In these holy seasons and circumstances, moreover, let them principally apply themselves to these three things—First, in their public sermons to treat of the above-mentioned Sacraments—secondly, to take satisfactory measures with those, who, either from false shame or from quarrels with their parish-priests, for a long season put off confession—thirdly, to take away public scandals, and to compose the private dissensions of the inhabitants with christian charity. Let them, however, regard the instruction of children as one of the first cares of

* Probably the larger volume, entitled "Catechismus Romanus," compiled, on the model of the Acts of the council of Trent, by a commission which acted after the dissolution of that council.

† A smaller Catechism, for the use of children, translated into a great variety of languages, by the missionaries and others of the church of Rome.

‡ The Mass is always performed before noon. The sermon was, therefore, part of the morning service: catechizing was in the afternoon service. Such is the custom directed by the church of England also. (Vide Rubric to the Catechism.)

their mission. Let them have, therefore, in their mission a school constantly open, (at least by deputy,) in which boys may be taught, after the common method, to read and write the Syriac and Arabic languages.*

"On exciting the minds of the youths to piety.—Since the principal, or rather the only scope of the mission, is the increase of religion and piety, for the attainment of which the temper of youth is best adapted, let it be an object of the greatest attention, never to separate the study of learning from the study of piety. Let the laborers appoint to themselves, therefore, a set time, daily, in which to give christian instruction to their disciples; and let them not fail, by exhortation and conversation, to stimulate and allure them to devotion and the fear of God. They are to take care that they be daily present at sacred worship; and, unless too young, that they approach every month the sacraments of penance and the communion. And, the better to promote these ends, let them beware of the inveterate faults of masters—anger, impatience, hastiness; and that which springs from these, unadvised severity. Let them hear the apostle inculcating the contrary—*Be instant in season, out of season: reprove, rebuke, exhort; with all long-suffering and doctrine.* They will thus find the minds of their disciples

* The necessity which existed for the missionaries thus to interest themselves about confessions, will appear from the following accounts given by themselves.

"The Superior of the mission at Aleppo reports as follows:—

"During the year 1714 there were made in the mission at Aleppo nearly four hundred general confessions. The necessity of these confessions arises from the usage customary with the priests of the country, who, for the sake of despatch, and in order not to lose the fee of their penitents, content themselves with asking them if they are deeply grieved at having offended God. This demand being made, often without waiting for the answer, without even knowing the disposition of their penitents, they give them absolution."

"We can count," adds another father, in his letter, "above three thousand confessions more, which have been heard; a hundred and thirty-eight persons who have abjured schism; restitutions for very large sums; and seven or eight reconciliations among persons of high consideration. I omit various other good works, on which it is proper to be silent."

Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vol. I. p. 145.

The following additional testimony may be quoted from another of the Jesuit missionaries, preceded by his lively description of the hardships which they often had to suffer in their circuits:—

"Add to which, we have to endure the ardors of a burning sun in summer, or to walk upon the snows in winter, carrying upon our back our chapel, that is to say, its ornaments and every thing necessary for saying mass; having with us, moreover, our little provision of chaplets, images, medicines, and other things needful for the period of the mission. We march with this equipage, staff in hand, for whole days.

"Arrived in a village where we have to perform our mission, we begin without loss of time. We are always hailed with welcome; having to treat with a people who are kind, docile, Catholics, lovers of prayer and of the word of God.

"The time of our mission is passed in instructing, in praying, in assisting the sick, and, in hearing confessions, which usually are general confessions. These are so much the more necessary, as the curates content themselves at the great festivals with asking a crowd of penitents, who present themselves before them, whether they are sorry for their sins; and, on their simply declaring that they are so, without any further examination, their curates give them absolution."

Ibid, vol. I. pp. 251, 252.

more apt to receive the seeds of piety, and will also more strongly attach the affections and good-will of their parents.

To give information of such as are fit for higher studies, and to appoint certain to be pupils in the College at Rome.—Should they discover any who are more apt at learning, they are to have them instructed in the rules of Syriac Grammar; and to be advanced to Logic, and to Moral Science, or Moral Theology. Mindful, also, of the advantage which they received in the college at Rome, let it be their care to discover among the youths committed to them some of good disposition and quick talent, who, with approbation of their Superiors, may be in due time appointed to the Maronite college in Rome; whom also they may instruct in Latin.

“On the prudent division of the hours.—Since the right distribution of the hours tends both to prevent fatigue and also to promote health, let the master follow, in this respect, the rules which he will remember to have been observed in the schools at Rome. If, therefore, his school is to be divided into several classes, on account of the different degrees of talent, or the unequal proficiency of his scholars, let him so divide his work, as to comprise the whole within three hours in the morning, and three in the afternoon. The remaining time he will see that the scholars are occupied, each one by himself, in his own study?

“On abstaining from temporal gain.—They, who have freely received, should freely give. Let them, therefore, demand no reward from any one, for their ministrations. What is spontaneously offered, they may receive; not, however, estates, or fields: and let them give most diligent heed, lest they should appear to be seeking their own, not the things of Jesus Christ, to the great injury of their own character, and the hindrance of the salvation of others.

The extracts which follow refer to the subject of education in the Levant. The reader will be particularly struck with the caution given at the conclusion. It directs the mind to a circumstance of no small importance; for, while it discloses the anxiety with which christian families ought naturally to regard the situation of their children in the midst of Mohammedan countries, it may likewise serve to elucidate the reason, why christian books in Arabic are not generally regarded by Mohammedans as sufficiently elegant in their diction. Fearful lest the blandishments of

a Mohammedan style should operate to entice the youthful christian student to renounce his faith, christian writers in Syria appear to have confined themselves to a very narrow range of Arabic literature.

"1. St. Jerome directs,* that the student should first learn by heart the Psalter; then advance to the books of Solomon and Job; next to the Gospels, and then to the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles; afterward to the Prophets and the Pentateuch; then to the other books of Scripture: which being thoroughly read, the student may safely enter upon the Canticles;† and, finally, turn over and become familiar with the works of the fathers. In the statutes of Aix-la-Chapelle, the younger clergy are required to be taught, in the several monasteries and bishoprics, Grammar, the Psalter, Singing, Arithmetic, and Orthography. In another statute is added, also, the study of Medicine. In one monastery, the abbot is said to have taught letters and singing; thence to have advanced to the other liberal arts, such as Grammar, Arithmetic, Logic, Astronomy, Music, Rhetoric, and Geometry. At the academy of Beirout, in our own Phœnicia, Jurisprudence chiefly was studied; so that there was a great conflux, both of scholars and masters, from all the east, to this city. When, after the ruin of Constantinople; the revival of letters first took place in that city, there was a great demand from all quarters for the most able men to preside over schools for Grammar, Poetry, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomy, Geometry, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence.—Thus far concerning the line of studies anciently used by the Greeks and Latins.

"2. In Syria, next, the clergy are required to be taught, first, Letters, Grammar, Singing, Scripture, the commentaries of the fathers—next, those of superior talent are taught, from the books of the philosophers, Rhetoric, Poetry, Logic, Philosophy, Mathematics, and Medicine. Such, after the fifth century of the christian era, was the custom in Syria and Mesopotamia, the liberal arts being already in a flourishing state; especially in the city Edessa and its neighboring monasteries, where the study of profane learning was joined to that of sacred: nor was it permitted to follow the opinions, indifferently of any philosopher, but

* *Epistola ad Lætam, de Institutione Filiae*.—Few mothers, natives of the Levant, or more probably none, receive, in the present day, such a sketch as this for the education of their daughters.

† This arrangement of the books of Scripture for the purpose of study seems, in some of its parts, to be any thing but judicious.

only of Aristotle, whose philosophy and other works were first cultivated by the Syrians, being translated from the Greek into the Syriac: they were then studied by the Arabs, after the eighth century, they availing themselves of the help of Syrian interpreters; as appears from the annals both of the Syrians and the Arabs. Those, who were of slower talent, were directed to despatch their studies in three years; learning, first, after they had gone through the rules of grammar cursorily, the psalms and hymns used in divine service, and in the mass; then the New Testament; and, lastly, the appointed lessons out of the Old Testament, which are read in the church on the Sundays and festivals: after which they were permitted to depart, and learn such trades as they chose.*

3. 'We, therefore, having attentively considered the peculiarities of times and places, direct that the masters for this purpose—whom we desire to be chosen by the bishops, or prefects of the monasteries—do observe the usual method, teaching the youths in the schools first to read and write in Syriac and Arabic: that they then cause them to read the Psalter, the Book for Deacons, the Offices of the Festivals, and the New Testament: afterward, should they find any to be peculiarly quick at learning, let them instil into them the rules of Syriac and Arabic Grammar: let them next teach them the mode of singing and of Ecclesiastical calculation; next the sublimer sciences, as Rhetoric and Poetry, Philosophy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy, and other branches of Mathematics. Let them then lead them forward to the institutions of Canon Law; to Biblical exertations; to scholastic, dogmatical, and moral theology; and especially to those subjects which bear upon the due receiving and administering of the sacraments, and the knowledge of the forms of rites and ceremonies. Let them especially take care that they are daily present at the sacrifice of the mass, and at divine worship in the quire morning and evening; and that, every month, unless prevented by their tender age, they approach the sacraments of penance and the communion. Let the masters also daily,

* At the present day, in the eastern churches, and even in some of the west, this kind of system may be observed. Young persons are taught, in the ecclesiastical schools, to perform the ceremonials of public worship, and to learn prayers, psalms, and even large portions of the Scripture, with a book before them; repeating, however, almost entirely *memoriter*. As they advance to manhood, occupied with worldly business, they lose the very little knowledge which they once obtained of the art of reading; having, in fact, neither any motive to keep up their learning, nor any variety of books to assist them in so doing.

or at least twice in the week, appoint a stated time, in which to deliver to their pupils christian lectures, expounding to them the doctrine of cardinal Robert Bellarmine."

In several following passages, the utility of the monastic system is highly commended, especially in reference to the education of the young of both sexes. Distinguished notice is taken of a Maronite college, founded in Rome by Gregory XIII.; and the extension of education throughout the Maronite patriarchate is recommended. Twelve rules for the use of such seminaries are given, from which we briefly extract the following:—

"The age of entrance, unless by special dispensation, to be not under twelve years . . . the clerical dress to be constantly worn . . . no pupil to sleep out of the seminary . . . the elder scholars to be kept separate from the younger; and never for a moment to be out of sight of their Superiors, who are to watch over them with the vigilance of sentinels . . . a large, lighted lamp, is to hang, all night, in the room where they sleep . . . the time of staying at the seminary not to exceed six or seven years, except by special allowance of the bishop or abbot of the monastery."

Several sections are then devoted to lauding the benevolence and piety of the persons who endowed the three under-mentioned seminaries for Syria: the dates refer to the time of their founding.

At Antoura in Kesrouan, February 27th, 1734.

At Zogorta, near Tripoli, December 10th, 1735.

In Cyprus (for the Maronites,) August 15th, 1734.

"It is with the greatest grief that we have heard that some christians preferring things temporal to spiritual, do so far neglect the eternal salvation of their children, as to send them to infidel or heretical masters, at the hazard of subverting their faith; under the vain pretext, that they are not equally well instructed by the orthodox masters, especially in Arabic grammar and poetry. Desirous, therefore, to provide both for the safety of souls and for the advancement of letters and science, we command the professors of our orthodox faith, all and each of them, that they do not presume henceforth to send their children to be taught by masters of another nation under pain of excommunication to be inflicted by the bishop; subjecting to the same penalty those also, who, with or without the advice of their parents, shall go to the schools of infidel or heretical masters. For

what communion hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? To cut off all occasion of evil, we command the superiors and preceptors of our schools, not only in cities and villages, but also in the larger monasteries, that they take care that the institutions of the Arabic tongue be taught, as they were composed by Gabriel Faharat, archbishop of Aleppo, of famous memory, while monk of the order of St. Anthony of the congregation of mount Lebanon. Let them also cause their scholars to read his poems, and his other smaller works both in prose and verse; that they may imbibe piety, together with learning and the purity of the Arabic tongue.* But books composed by heretics or infidels, however distinguished by elegance or erudition, we forbid to be read, or expounded in the schools, unless first purged of their errors, by order of the bishop or his vicar."

The following extracts are from a work with which the reader is by this time rendered very familiar, the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*. They furnish an account of the manner in which the Jesuits gave effect to the measures of Urban VIII. Other religious orders, especially the Franciscans, have long established themselves in Syria and the Holy Land;† but it was the distinguishing feature of the

* In the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* (vol. I. p. 162,) mention is made of a work by Pere Arnondie, concerning which it would be desirable to know more. It is there related that he composed a very useful work in Arabic, on the Holy Scriptures; contained in three folio volumes.

† It is a curious fact, that four most powerful and influential religious orders of the Church of Rome were founded in the same century, and within less than fifty years. The Franciscans were established A. D. 1209; the Carmelites A. D. 1219—1217, the Dominicans A. D. 1216; and the Augustinians A. D. 1256. After nearly three centuries had elapsed, and the appearance of an approaching general reformation caused Rome to fear, the order of the Jesuits was founded A. D. 1540. The propaganda was established by Gregory XV. A. D. 1622; and the measures of the Romish Hierarchy were greatly extended by Pope Urban VIII. A. D. 1644—1655. (See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, on each of these A-ticles.) The archives of these different religious orders, if still preserved at Rome, must contain a copious and interesting account of the languages, customs, opinions, and history of all parts of the world. Some of the most ancient letters of the missionary fathers it might be difficult, perhaps, to decipher; and others it would be wearisome beyond measure to read, if they record minutely such legends as are already to be found sufficiently numerous in print. The probability is, that these entire archives will never be digested, so as to offer to the public an intelligent view of their contents: nor is this, perhaps, very deeply to be regretted; since, for practical purposes, such a publication could not much serve, so constantly does the state of society change, even in those nations which we are wont to regard as the most stationary.

It may, however, be observed, that the printed works on this subject, of which a catalogue is given by Fabricius, would be sufficient to form a library, if collected together. The title of the 32d chapter of his "*Lux Evangelii*," is as follows: *Missiones Religiosæ, Jesuitarum maxime, Franciscanorum ac Dominicanorum, eorumque relationes ab anno 1542, in præsens usque tempus.* [1731.] They refer to the following countries, chiefly—Japan, China, Thibet, the East Indies, Persia, Abyssinia, Congo, Canada, and Mexico, with the Brazils and other parts of South America. They who have access to large and well-furnished libraries, and are desirous of prosecuting this subject, cannot do better than take the above-mentioned work of Fabricius with them, as their manual and guide.

order of the Jesuits, that they united the systematic cultivation of Learning with all their missions, in every part of the world. This was the circumstance which rendered them so effective in their measures; and, eventually, so formidable, even to Rome herself. Hence it is, likewise, that they have excelled others in the publication of their proceedings; either having had more to say, or having been more disposed to speak of themselves, than was the case with the other orders. Had it been in the author's power to furnish, from the publications of other monastic orders of the church of Rome, a fuller retrospective view of Syria and the Holy Land, it would have been his duty to do justice to their exertions, as well as to those of the Jesuits.

The stations of the Jesuit missions formerly existing in Syria are thus enumerated by themselves:—

"We have, in Syria, five establishments. They are situated in the cities and other places where the exercise of a mission is requisite. Two of them are in the most celebrated and most frequented parts of Syria, viz. Saide and Tripoli. We have two others in the two principal cities; namely, Damascus and Aleppo. Our fifth establishment is in the district called Kesrouan: its seat is at Antoura."—*Lett. Edif. et Curieuses*, Vol. I. pp. 112, 113.

The following sketch, drawn by the Jesuit missionaries, of the character of their labors in Syria, is written in a pleasing style; and will, in the former part of it, interest every christian reader. Toward the conclusion, however, that limited and exclusive object, in pursuit of which they planted themselves in Syria, is clearly developed. The worldly-politic principle on which they acted, that of making and securing proselytes to Rome, appears to have carried with it its own bane, by diffusing over their prospects a corresponding narrowness of hope and expectation. They seem, indeed, to feel themselves engaged in a great and arduous work; yet virtually acknowledge, that there is one still greater and more arduous, from the achievement of which, although it be the proper calling of a missionary, they nevertheless shrink back.

"Before exhibiting to your paternal notice our occupations for the sanctification of souls, we should mention the means which we possess of promoting our own: for we should bear in mind that leading instruction, given by Ignatius to missionaries of his society, that they should zealously

perfect themselves in the ways of God before they undertake to conduct others therein.

"The first means which we possess of drawing us to God, is the having almost continually before us the scene of all the actions and all the sufferings of the Saviour. . . .

"The second means of perfection which the missionaries find here, are the crosses which they often have to bear in following the Saviour. These proceed from the infidels [meaning chiefly the Mohammedans,] who have a sovereign contempt for the christians; to that degree, that it is, as it were, a point of their religion to maltreat them.

"We have yet more to suffer from the schismatics. Schism inspires them with an implacable hatred against the Catholics, and particularly against the missionaries. They employ lies, calumny, perfidy, and false testimony, to draw upon them, as often as possible, extortions from the Turks.

"We have not less to suffer on the part of Libertines, who regard us as the declared enemies of their free-living, because we endeavor to draw from them the unhappy victims of their iniquities.

"To these crosses must be added the pestilential and contagious maladies, to which the missionaries are often exposed, or to which they voluntarily expose themselves, accounting themselves happy to give up their life by a martyrdom of charity to their brethren in Christ Jesus. Several of us have had this happy lot.

"Such are the crosses inseparable from the life of the evangelist. The Son of God has announced and promised them to those who will follow Him. It were wrong for us to complain, because we feel that they contribute to detach us from life and from ourselves. They make us love God, and desire to possess Him eternally.

"I do not here speak of our manner of living, so different from that in France. We have frequent occasion to remember, that we did not come hither to seek our convenience. We endeavor to be an expense to nobody. We declare to our disciples that we only desire the salvation of their souls; and we content ourselves with the alms which come to us from France, having always before our eyes the poverty which the Son of God and his apostles professed here before us.

"The third means of sanctification which Syria and Egypt afford us, is the multitude of good works which present themselves to us without ceasing. No missionary

wants work. He finds more of it than he can do; and it is this which has carried off several, who have fallen, in the flower of their age, under the weight of labor. I ought here to add, that we are not here the sole laborers in the vineyard of our Lord. Many religious, of the different orders and possessed of fervent character, cultivate it with us.

"In conclusion, I confess that we must not expect here to make the conquest of entire kingdoms, to bring them under the dominion of Jesus Christ, and to baptize as many thousand men as St. Francis Xavier baptized. That is not the object: but God demands of us a continual attention to maintain the Catholic christians in their holy faith; to preserve them from the contagion of schism, heresy, and libertinism; and to recover to the bosom of the church those who have the misfortune to be separated from it. I will even add, that, had we no other occupation than certain obscure works which are of daily occurrence, yet we should esteem ourselves extremely happy in bestowing all our life on them; persuaded that these, although concealed and without eclat, are not the less precious in the sight of God.

"But thanks to the Lord, the field which we have to cultivate is vast and very populous. It furnishes always, to a very great number of laborers, opportunities of much exertion and much suffering.

"They count, in Syria and Egypt, about two hundred thousand christians of different nations—namely, Maronites, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Chaldeans, and Copts. All make a public profession of the christian religion; annually paying, on this account, their tribute to the Porte.

"These different nations have their patriarchs, their bishops, and their priests; of whom some are Catholics and the rest are schismatics. May it please God to bless the appearances which we have of a rich harvest! Such is the object of our vows and of our labors; and, for it, we are ready, did it depend on that, to pour forth our blood. I can assure you, my Reverend Father, that such is the disposition of all our missionaries.

"It is the fruit of the excellent means, which Syria every year furnishes us for attaining the perfection of our state, and conducting to the gate of salvation the nations confided to us by Providence."—*Id. Vol. I. pp. 113—119.*

The passages following will illustrate the manner in which the missionaries conducted their plans, while itiner-

ating among the various parishes of Mount Lebanon. The need which females have of instruction in the Levant is very touchingly exhibited; and the sagacity, with which the missionaries applied their care to the rising generation, is too striking not to be noticed.

"The following is the manner in which our missionaries ordinarily begin their mission in the villages:—

"They enter the villages with the crucifix in their hand, thereby announcing to the people that they come to see them in the name of Christ crucified. If there is a church or a chapel in the village, they repair thither, to offer up prayer with the christians of the place, who are promptly advised of the arrival of the missionaries. They employ their first days in visiting them. They assemble them afterward, either in their private houses, or in their churches when the Curates permit: they there catechise their children, and give instruction to adults. They carefully inform themselves concerning the sick, and visit them: they often find them lying on the ground, or on a miserable mat, in want of the necessities of life, and still more of spiritual succor; for their curates, who are hard put to it to live on their small salary, are much more occupied with the care of their own matters than with that of their parishioners, and gladly throw themselves on the good-will of missionaries.

"This circumstance occasions us to take the precaution of carrying with us small silver cases, in which we inclose consecrated wafers, in order to give the viaticum to such of the sick as appear to us in danger and piously disposed to receive it."—*Id. Vol. I. pp. 202, 203.*

"To labor with the hope of gathering one day abundant fruit, whether in the city or in the country, we apply ourselves particularly to the instruction of children. We endeavor to render them strong and firm in the Catholic faith, in order that, becoming one day the successors of heretical bishops and curates, they may gather the tares out of the field of Jesus Christ and sow in it good seed."—*Id. p. 148.*

"While one of us is occupied in the instruction of children, morning and evening, the other missionaries are visiting the christian families in their houses. These visits are not less necessary than useful; for females with them not having liberty in going abroad, they would never hear concerning God and their salvation, if we did not seek them out and draw their attention to these subjects."—*Id. Vol. II. p. 178.*

It is not, however, to be imagined that these great exertions of the missionaries from the West could well pass without notice, or without opposition from the native christians and others, in the midst of whom they labored. The odium, which they appear to have incurred, may possibly have been, in part, the consequence of a system, which tended not so much to simple and genuine conversion as to temporal domination. However this may have been, it will not fail to interest the reader to observe, in the following extract, with which we shall close this retrospective view, the lively alarm excited among the different parties in Syria precisely a century ago. The modes of feeling and of acting, with regard to religious measures in that country, appear to have suffered very little change since that period.

Letter of the Superior General of the missionaries of the Jesuits to Father Flueriau.

Saïde, 21st July, 1723.

“Reverend Father—

“We cannot too soon give you information of a recent command of the Grand Seignior, which a capidgee has just brought to Damascus, Aleppo, and the principal cities of Syria. By this command, it is forbidden to the christian subjects of the Grand Seignior to embrace the Catholic religion; and the Latin missionaries are prohibited from having any communication with the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, under pretence of instructing them. It is further ordered by this command, that, in case any Greek, Armenian, and Syrian christians, subjects of the Grand Seignior, shall have quitted their ancient religion to profess that of the Papists, they must give up the latter immediately, and resume their former religion.

“This command has been given at the request of the schismatic patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Damascus, assembled in Synod at Constantinople.

“The real motive, by which they were instigated, was vexation at seeing that their flocks daily diminished, while that of Jesus Christ was increased and enriched with the spoils of schism.

“The patriarch of Jerusalem, himself the most zealous partizan of schism, passing by Damascus and Aleppo on his way to Constantinople, was an eye-witness of the progress

of the Catholic religion. He saw with a pain which he was unable to dissemble, the fervor of our churches in these two cities. He rendered an account of the matter to the Synod. The Synod, in soliciting the desired command, were too wary to express the real motive of their spite: they had recourse to an accusation the most suited to irritate the minds of the Grand Seignior and his Grand Vizier against the Catholics. The patriarchs of the Synod represented to the Grand Vizier, that the Frank missionaries, for so they called the Latins, seduced their people, subjects of the Grand Seignior, and made them change their religion for that of the Papists, and took upon them to instruct them, an office which belonged solely to the patriarchs of their nation. There wanted nothing more than this explanation to procure the command which they requested; and it was, in fact, easily and promptly obtained.

"In consequence of this command, the Turkish officers, who always draw great profit from the extortions which they lay on the Catholics, imprisoned the bishop of Aleppo, the bishop of Saide, several priests, and several laymen, good Catholics of the cities of Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Saide—threatening some with banishment and others with death, if they did not return to the religion of their patriarch.

"Our consul at Aleppo has signified to us this new command of the porte. He has required us to suspend our missions; and to cease from our ordinary functions as missionaries as we have exercised them in this country for more than a century. All France knows that we have been sent hither, by the order, and under the name of our kings, to preserve and maintain here the Catholic faith.

"We have obeyed the orders which have been conveyed to us; but we appeal, at the same time, to the piety of the king, protector of the Catholic religion in this infidel empire. Our kings, his predecessors, have always granted us their protection, with the utmost success that we could hope for on similar occasions.

"The present is a juncture most favorable; for it is notorious that this command has been given on the ground of a false charge.

"The schismatical patriarchs accuse the Latin missionaries of inducing the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians to change their religion; and yet it is visible to all the world, that the subjects of the grand Seignior continue the same rites which they have always observed. Their rites are

good; approved by the holy see, and by the general councils. Their change, if there be any, is purely internal; and only consists, generally, in abandoning certain superstitions, and some particular errors which schism has introduced among the Christians, and in professing those Catholic verities which ignorance alone had concealed from them.

"In what regards the functions of the missionaries, they are conformed to our ancient capitulations between France and the Ottoman Porte, without any innovation: and, so far from our functions alienating the subjects of the Grand Seignior from the obedience which they owe to him, the Turkish magistrates are obliged to admit that the Catholic subjects of his highness are much more submissive to him and the government, than are the schismatics.

"Such, reverend father, is the case which we entreat you to represent to his majesty: hoping that he will cause us to taste, on this occasion, the first fruits of his royal protection; and, at the same time shew, the Turk, that his majesty will be as zealous a protector of the Catholic faith in the Levant, as the kings his predecessors have been, and especially Louis XIV. of glorious memory."* *Id. Vol. I. p. 295, et. seq.*

It would have been easy to multiply citations from various works, elucidating still farther the subject under consideration: the difficulty is, in fact, to set limits to this kind of selection. From the materials already furnished, we may now proceed to form some opinion with regard to what has been already done for the Levant; and, from the experience of others, may gather some hints, which may assist us in the choice of our own measures.

* Louis XV. came to the throne A. D. 1715.

An incident, mentioned by Niebuhr, in his travels, tends, remarkably and unexpectedly, to illustrate the little favor which the Romish missions have acquired in some parts of the east. The reader will bear with this additional extract.

"The preceding night I slept in the house of an Armenian ecclesiastic, without the gates of the city, in order that I might be able to set off the next morning before the opening of the gate. My host appeared, at first, distrustful; taking me for a Catholic: but, when I informed him that I was English, he, having formed an acquaintance with people of that nation at Aleppo, and esteeming it much, *because it sends no missionaries into Turkey*, became very polite, and ordered me a good supper, which we ate together under a tree." *Niebuhr, Vol. II. p. 333; between Diarbekir and Aleppo.*

Considering England as likely to become a missionary nation, the compliment conveyed in the preceding passage might almost be resented by the present generation. It contains, however, too much truth. England, at the time when Niebuhr wrote, sent no missionaries into Turkey! Now that missionaries from our land are beginning to visit that region, the timidity of the Armenian ecclesiastic may suggest many important practical lessons, on the necessity of our winning, rather than forcing, our way.

REMARKS ON PAST MEASURES.

1. The first remark which most obviously occurs is, **HOW LITTLE DISTINCT REFERENCE IS MADE TO BIBLE-INSTRUCTION.**

It is true, one of the four offices stated as being required in the missionaries is, "to preach the word of God;" and, in various parts, several books of the Bible are expressly named: but there is no avowed plan for teaching the Bible to children, to young persons, or to adults. This, in fact, with the exception of the Psalter, was not intended to be taught. Many Sunday-school children in England, who learn by heart entire chapters of the New Testament, and are thoroughly catechised in the Old, become, by the age of twelve or fourteen, better instructed in the nature of Christianity, than, according to this system, even an adult would ever be.

The general circulation of the Holy Scriptures, the use of them in schools, and the adoption, consequently, of Scriptural measures in all the proceedings of missionaries, are new and important features of the present century. A quarter of that century has already passed; and it is impossible for any intelligent person to survey this brief period, without being astonished at the activity of religious enterprise, by which it has been distinguished. Nor does there appear, at the present moment, to be the least abatement of pressure in the public spirit: all urge forward: all feel that there is much unaccomplished of what is to be done; or, rather, in proportion as persons view more intimately the state of mankind, they begin to feel as if the world was only just waking out of a slumber of many centuries—a deadly sleep of secular false principles, of ignorance, of apathy, of stupidity. It is delightful to reflect, that this awakened feeling is accompanied by an increasing reverence for the Word of God; the only worthy object, and the only sterling security, to an age of extraordinary excitement!

In the magnificent missionary enterprises of the church of Rome (magnificent they must certainly be deemed, when we consider all their imperial, regal, and papal resources of wealth; all the learning connected with them and resulting from them; but, especially, the numbers and character of their laborers, men of hardihood, guided by almost mili-

tary discipline, and fearlessly traversing the whole globe: magnificent, also, as having no rival for these many hundred years with which to compare them) there was yet one grand principle wanting—that of drawing, DIRECTLY, from the sacred oracles, and communicating by means of them, DIRECTLY, the knowledge of divine truth.

There is a wide difference between teaching even the matter of the Bible, and teaching the Bible itself. Teaching the matter of the Bible, was the principle by which the Romish missionaries professed to act: how far they deviated from that matter; we stop not here to inquire; briefly remarking only, that, by withholding from men the key of knowledge, and not suffering others to go in, they entered not in themselves: they taught, and they themselves believed, things different from and contrary to the doctrine of the Bible. But that which we consider as illustrated by this view, is, that, in the detail of their operations, these missionaries were men without the Bible.

Protestant societies have to beware, that they do not send Bibles without men: not because the Bible, without a living interpreter, can do harm—it cannot do harm; and it may, alone, be the means of an infinite benefit: but because such a principle falls short of the apostolical method of PREACHING the Gospel. This is, indeed, a subject of vital importance to the character of modern missions, or rather to the interest of Christ's kingdom; and it is well that all persons should be roused to the keenest sense of it. I would repeat therefore, in the most pointed language of contrast, that if the principle of sending out missionaries without the Bible be now viewed as exploded, yet not all is gained if the Bible be sent out without missionaries. It is, indeed, with exultation, that every enlightened christian must contemplate the stupendous operations of the Bible Society—oftentimes penetrating into recesses as yet impervious to the feet of the missionary; and, in other instances, giving him ample materials for the useful labor of distribution, while his lips, as yet unpractised in a foreign dialect, can furnish to his hearers only a stammering speech. Yet all this Biblical apparatus—neither, indeed, is the tenth portion of this department completed—is but preliminary. The sooner missionary societies can press on their servants to the work of preaching the Gospel, by so much the earlier will Scriptural translations be completed; the more exten-

sively will copies of the Scriptures be distributed; and thus, ere long, will the doctrines of the Bible be expounded, understood, and embraced among all nations of the earth!

This topic will, however, be more specifically insisted on in the next chapter. From having noticed how little Bible-instruction has hitherto been given by the Papal missionaries in the East, it was only seasonable to check, in Protestant minds, that spirit of dangerous self-gratulation, which might arise from comparing our principles with those of Rome. Comparing ourselves with the apostolic age, we are more likely to become wisely humble and nobly emulous.

2. It is further observable, **HOW LITTLE NOTICE**, in the outline of the Romish missions, is **TAKEN OF THE STATE OF FEMALES**. Their education, and especially the education of females by those of their own sex, is scarcely hinted.

Nunneries are alluded to by Asseman, as calculated to promote the education of the sex; but these institutions must be generally considered in the light of an asylum, not that of an academy. Although in Europe they have very often furnished excellent means of instruction to females; yet, in the general decay of all learning in the East, the monastic system has supplied little to females, except the means of seclusion. Should we even add, that they have gained thereby the opportunity of devotion, yet it may fairly be asked, What kind of piety is that, which consumes life in the repetition of the same religious ceremonies; in a sphere too contracted to admit of trial, experience, and enlarged growth? The pallid vegetation of a plant in a dark and damp cavern, is but a faint representation of the green and vigorous productions of the field in open day: neither can the valuable characteristics of well-trained females, in the various relative duties appointed them by God, ever be brought into exercise within the walls of the convent.

In consequence, however, of the general neglect and degradation of the female character in the countries of the East, the prejudice is universally counter to the idea of female education. Under the Jewish economy, Solomon, while portraying, in language which never can be even imitated, much less equalled, all the tender and dignified graces of a virtuous matron;* yet seems to imply that the character was, in his time, or at least within the sphere of his own observation, very rare. Such a defective state of society, however, cannot be considered as agreeable to the standard of

* Proverbs xxxi, 10—31.

EVANGELIZING AND EDUCATION.

christian perfection, *where there is neither male nor female*. Yet how far is that character still above the view of christian women in the east! far, also above the notions of christian men in the east! And thus will it ever continue, so long as the superstitious veneration for monastic institutions shall last; and, with it, the idea that education is the privilege of only half the population of the world.

To subvert so great a combination of practical evils, it is necessary to notice three facts. First, that the number of persons of both sexes devoted to the monastic life must necessarily bear a very small proportion to the great bulk of society. Secondly, that this small band are in no degree competent, neither is it likely that they will, in the long run, be inclined, to undertake the education of the rest of their fellow-creatures. Thirdly, if mankind are generally to be instructed, so far, that is, as that all should be able to read the Bible with a common understanding of the sense of it, this amount of instruction must mainly depend upon mothers. Thus the argument becomes complete in favor of universal female education; and that education to be given by females. It is the only way, in which one* of the greatest possible blessings is to be obtained. It is, in fact, a system which can be propagated and perpetuated only by itself. Married men cannot supply it to those who share with them the business and cares of life; much less can monastic men, or the very few monastic females who exist in a nation. Monastic persons might furnish what are properly called the accomplishments of education: but general, plain, female education is a task beyond the reach of sequestered men and women; and must flow from a thousand maternal hearts, and hands, and lips.

While the mind takes the range of this pleasing speculation, it is painfully arrested by the thought, that the whole or nearly the whole existing generation of mothers in these countries are very far indeed from being qualified to undertake this necessary work: how slowly, how imperfectly performed, or not at all even attempted, must be the education, consequently, of their daughters! How, in fact, is this grand regenerating system to be commenced and effectually introduced!

We would submit, that the course best to be pursued, in the first instance, might be, systematically to address fathers

* Not to mention another; namely, the training of the earliest years of boys—a training which chiefly rests on the temper and talents of the mother.

and mothers; laying before them the plainest and most convincing reasons in favor of female education. It is true their prejudices would be strong against it: but reason, united with affection, will eventually prevail. The arguments on each side are not many; and the tenor of them is very simple. With regard to Syria, the negative argument most overpowering to the mind of a native would probably be no other than that, which paralyzes the energies of men in every country—despair of the practicability of the measure.

Here then must come in the helping hand and the animating counsels of a foreign friend. The wife of a married missionary has before her all the mothers and daughters of her husband's province; dependent (it may be for generations to come) on her example, her voice, her measures. It is, consequently, to Protestant married missionaries that we must look, for a large benefit to be conferred on mankind: the celibacy of Romish missionaries is a circumstance, which, from the outset, has had a tendency to cut off half the population of a missionary province from the reach of their educational training, and, in truth, as they found females unable to read, and consequently unable to teach, so have they left them. It was natural to expect that it should be so: the fact, therefore, excites no surprise; though it cannot fail to move regret and pity.

3. It may next be remarked, that the MONASTIC SYSTEM, from which, during many centuries, such great things were expected, seems, the more closely it is examined, to be, in a great degree, unfavorable to Apostolic proceedings.

The monastic state, compared with the Apostolical history, is much the same as the ingenuity of any human system compared with the simplicity of divine truth—plausible, but defective.

At first view, the monastic life promises a race of devoted men, unincumbered with secular cares, or hopes, or fears; free for study, action, travel, and enterprise; ready either to live, or calmly to endure their inevitable lot—*once to die*, for the cause which they have espoused. This kind of character is certainly wanted for extraordinary services, and in peculiarly trying circumstances.

At the commencement of new and arduous undertakings, or under the pressure of harassing persecutions, the single state is well adapted: yet, even in such cases, the great exemplar of apostolical independence forbears from pressing his recommendation too far (1 Cor. vii. 28.) But that, in

circumstances of comparative quiet, whole bodies of men, as the Dominican, Franciscan, or other orders—nay, even an entire priesthood, as the hierarchy of Rome, dispersed through all the world, and in some degree the clergy of the Oriental churches—should settle down into monastic ease, or refuse to share the responsibilities and burdens of domestic life, must be regarded as opposed both to scripture and to nature. The inevitable tendency of such a system is bad: and all its evils, with all their guilt, fall upon the head of those who gratuitously invent and uphold such a system, imposing it on the priesthood.

The apostolical history, on the contrary, countenances no restraint on marriage: St. Paul himself, even where he dissuades from the married state, yet does so in reference to the peculiar distresses of the times; and with the clearest understanding that the professed celibate be one endowed, by nature and by grace, with ability to keep his heart and life pure—a condition, which as it rests between God and each individual, can never be secured by generalizing laws of man's instituting. The history of the infant church of Christ exhibits much good done by married persons; and as much willingness to suffer was manifested by those who had wives, or husbands, or children at stake, as by those, whose all was centered in individual self.

The monastic and celibate system is, in fact, best adapted to uphold a worldly party: the married priesthood more necessarily admit the cultivation of the social graces of christianity. Most melancholy would it be, if missionary societies of the Reformed churches, leaving the model of Scripture example, and untaught by the experience of ages past, should incline to any measures which might give a bias opposed to marriage. A temporary, local, or partial benefit might be the consequence; but no such benefit could ever compensate for the extensive and durable mischiefs resulting from such a line of policy.

4. One point more shall briefly be noticed. There is in the instructions here given to the missionaries, and in the accounts rendered by themselves, no distinct view of the subject of attempting the CONVERSION OF MOHAMMEDANS. It seems to be kept out of sight. Possibly it may be said that it is implied in the general duty of winning souls.

But is this a branch of duty of such minor importance, or one so easy to be grasped, as that it should be left to private zeal and talent; while the mode of treating with native

christians is so fully developed? It may be said, again, that policy required that this topic should not be publicly announced, but that it was probably conveyed in secret instructions: of the policy of such privacy I do not speak: but I question the fact whether such instructions were conveyed: if they were, how is it that the missionaries record so much of their labors with the native christians, and so little of religious conversations with Mohammedans—that this latter project is by them sometimes virtually disavowed—and that the object of their missions is, in the present day, so generally declared to be to keep together those who have in ancient times embraced the Romish persuasion? At all events, nothing like adequate provision appears to be made for this great Oriental work; nor is it by any means easy to see, in what way popery could address itself to the converting of Mohammedans to the Christian faith.

HINTS ON FUTURE MEASURES.

But it is time to close these strictures, and endeavor to collect together such views as may have offered themselves, in reference to the line of duty to which protestant missions are called in addressing themselves to Western Asia.

1. The first duty seems to be, carefully to survey the state of the field before us, and to *ascertain the nature of the various characters with whom we shall have to treat.*

These various characters may be classed almost in the same manner as they might in the apostolic age. This is a great advantage; as it may assist us in guiding our measures more exactly by the rule of scriptural examples.

A missionary in Western Asia will have to do with four principal descriptions of persons. First: those who are not converted to christianity. Secondly: those who shall set themselves up as bitter opposers. Thirdly, those who shall be, in simplicity and purity of heart, converted. And, fourthly: those who, professing themselves converts, will nevertheless cherish prejudices tending to corrupt the christian faith.

The first class, as it comprehended in the apostolic age the whole Gentile or pagan world, so now, in Western Asia, it would include all the Mohammedans, Jews, Druses, and other denominations not converted to christianity. In one respect alone, do they differ from the ancient Gentile world, such as it existed in the beginning of the christian

era: they know the name of christianity. Its nature, however, they have had little opportunity of appreciating from either the conduct or the teaching of modern christian churches, which dishonor rather than adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

The second class consisted, in the apostolic age, of the great mass of the unconverted and obstinate Jewish nation; who, everywhere, were the first and the most bitter opposers of the apostles, *being exceedingly mad against them, and persecuting them even unto strange cities*: to these were soon united many pagan persecutors, who imagined that christianity was at war with their secular interests. Corresponding to these, there will not be wanting, probably, many in Western Asia, who will take the alarm at the preaching of the pure Gospel; and conceiving it to be injurious to their ecclesiastic or political institutions, will *forbid us to speak to the Gentiles*.

The third class, substantially the same in every age and country, needs no particular description.

The fourth class already exists very extensively. As, in the first age of Christianity, the Jewish converts wished to add to the faith all those rites and ceremonies in which they had been educated; so now, in the present time, professing christians in the east corrupt the simplicity that is in Christ, by the multiplication of ceremonies, by the rigors of abstinences, and long formal devotions, and by a veneration, somewhat more than superstitious, of the sacraments. Of human traditions they are more tenacious than of the divine law. By the prejudices of bigotry, or by the enfeebling influence of superstition, their minds are brought to a state in which they have no understanding of the genuine liberty of the Gospel; and for the law of christian love, they have substituted the rigors and anathemas of authority, as the only efficient instruments of church government.

2. It will next be requisite to consider how these various classes should be addressed.

To the IGNORANT, the fullest instruction should be given. To declare, to prove, and affectionately to recommend the *whole of Christianity* to the Mohammedans, to the Jews, to the Druses, to the Ansari, and to all others, is no doubt that which the apostles, were they upon earth, would urgently press upon us. Their master and ours has given the command—*Preach the Gospel to every creature*. If there has been a false delicacy manifested in too gently touching more especially the topic of the converting of Mohamyme-

dans, it may be attributed to the feeling generally entertained in Christendom—and justly too—of their remarkably intolerant character. But this is no sufficient reason for declining this great work. It is an enterprise, which demands to be taken up systematically and fully; perhaps, in order to give it greater advantage, for a time, at least, EXCLUSIVELY. If this be not done, the missionary societies of the Reformed churches will sink in their character: they will become, like the Romish missions, occupied chiefly in recovering the heretical or misguided members of the household of faith; and thus rest within the borders of professing christendom, instead of gathering in alien and outcast nations. To no missionary sphere do these remarks apply so pointedly as to the Mediterranean.

With regard to those who shall oppose our labors, all former experience has shewn that worldly interest or malignant pride have been the motives, which have impelled individuals or parties to resist the truth. It is well to know this, and to be fully persuaded of it; in order that we may bear in mind the quality of those passions, whenever they spring up to oppose the Gospel. And how are these to be met? By meekness, by love, by patient continuance in well-doing, and by long-suffering; and they are to be resisted, also, with the words of truth and soberness; only in the spirit of gentleness. And when all means of persuasion fail, and raging persecution bursts with blind fury on the head of the faithful servants of Christ, the Captain of our salvation will not forsake them: He will sustain them, while fighting the good fight; and, when they fall, he will place upon their heads a crown of glory that fadeth not away.

But it is to be expected that the full and free preaching of the Gospel will be attended with the actual CONVERSION of multitudes among Mohammedans, Jews, nominal Christians, and others. Till this glorious result shall take place, how cold and unsatisfactory, nay, almost disheartening, are all other branches of a missionary's duty! But, when one and another individual shall give good signs of being born again of the Spirit of God, what lively consolations will inspire the breast of the laborer! How much more, when multitudes shall be added unto the church daily, of such as shall be saved!

With those who CORRUPT THE GOSPEL, who either swerve from the fundamental truths, or violate the spirit of the

New Testament, it is not the least difficult task of a missionary to deal. The vehement and anxious manner with which St. Paul—in his epistle to the Galatians more particularly—treats this case, shews it to be one of the most serious importance; and, in the same spirit he constantly exhorts Timothy and Titus to be on the watch against perverters of the Gospel. It will be useful to observe the various tempers, in succession, which go toward forming the character of such persons: the original feeling of such men is, attachment to ancient customs and preconceived opinions; growing out of their education, and the habits of the society to which they belong: next is, ignorance, or a partial acquaintance with the new truths, to the reception of which they are invited: supposing them, in consequence, only to receive these truths imperfectly, and to lie in a kind of middle state between their former errors and their new opinions, they are then in peculiar danger of falling into self-conceit; and, meeting with opposition or reproof, their temper is, perhaps, suddenly, kindled into irritated pride: when this becomes the state of opinion and feeling of several persons in a professing christian church, party-spirit speedily succeeds; one set of persons, approving particular views, becoming closely attached one to another, and conceiving a feeling of antipathy and hostility against those on the other side who disapprove their opinions or proceedings. It will ever require much calm forbearance, and much discernment of the characters of men, to ascertain how far a person is advanced in this course of unchristian temper—a temper more or less connected with every heresy and schism, which has disturbed the peace and corrupted the purity of the church. In some instances, regarding the errors of men as the effect of prejudice and ignorance, a sufficient remedy for them may be found in *not giving heed* to them, in studiously abstaining from them, and in the more diligently following after those things which make for edification. But, in other cases, where error is fundamental; and where they, who are perverting the Gospel, manifest pride and a domineering and overbearing temper, and are combined by the league of party spirit so that they appear likely to subvert whole houses, or even whole churches and nations; then the example of St. Paul may teach us a seasonable zeal for essential truths. *Mark and note them . . . have no company with them, that they may be ashamed . . . their mouths must be stopped;* that is, by sound argu-

ment and convincing reasons *rebuke them sharply.* (Rom. xvi. 17. 2 Thes. iii. 14. Titus i. 11, 13.)

At the present day, as has already been remarked, there exist in Western Asia numerous corruptions of christianity, some more, others less essential. They are the offspring of ancient and long-standing ignorance; and they have been nurtured to greater strength by bigotry, party-spirit, and secular interest. The missionary will no sooner enter this region, but he will meet with these evils on every side. It certainly will be best for him, not to consider the uprooting of these as the primary business of his mission: he has a much higher object; but it will be requisite for him; nevertheless, to be well prepared, both to render a reasonable account of his own views, and also to resist and endeavor to convince the gainsayers.

3. Whether missionaries should attempt the formation of great and fixed establishments in Turkey, as the Roman Catholics have for some centuries done, is a question, on which the following considerations may throw some light; but the author leaves it to more experienced persons than himself, to enlarge their view of the subject, and to form their own opinion.

If such establishments are to be monastic, it must be observed that Protestantism, or we may perhaps fairly say, christianity, does not regard with a favoring eye the monastic system. Sufficient has been said in other parts of this volume, to render the repetition of arguments against monasticism superfluous. In one word, its tendency is to keep missionaries from the people, and to themselves: or even if they should mingle with families, they must necessarily do so with reserve, neither exhibiting in themselves, nor imbibing from others, the spirit of the best domestic qualities. Their habits and their temper must be peculiar, and may very probably be unsocial. The walls of the convent screen them from the corrective public eye: hither they may retreat, after a round of formal duties, and sink into mental ease and sloth, and apathy.

If such an establishment is to consist of the union of several married missionaries, it becomes something like a colony. This system has generally been resorted to in uncivilized countries, where it is necessary to concentrate the means and the strength of the missionary settlement, with a view both to its subsistence and its security. In countries where there is civil protection, and regular trade furnish-

ing all the necessities of life, to congregate several missionary families in one place might be to diminish the beneficial influence which they would diffuse, if separated; hazarding, at the same time, those jealousies and quarrellings, which not unfrequently are introduced by the dæmon of discord, wherever he describes a family or a neighborhood *not at full stretch* in doing good.

The peculiar state of all civil relations in Turkey may suggest a doubt, whether any great establishment is likely to be very durable; and, likewise, whether it may not be likely to incur expenses and vexations peculiar to itself. The Romish convents have not only (as well as those of native christians) had repeatedly to pay great sums of money, but also to seek a very powerful patronage from the ambassadors at Constantinople.

Is there not, further, a hazard, that when patronage is thus of necessity sought, it may be to be obtained only by making some compromise, which might prove a death-blow to some very essential part of a missionary undertaking? It is most critical, to be placed in *circumstances, which may present a strong inducement to disavow any branch of the work of an evangelist—to give, for example, so much as an understanding, that to confer with Mohammedans is no part of our object—to say, in brief, what we may afterward wish unsaid.* Such disclaimers may rest with intolerable weight on the conscience of those who give them; and may transfuse into a missionary enterprise a very cramping, if not a ruinous, influence. May it not probably be the fact, that the Latin convents in Syria have failed partly on this account; so as to have come to that state, as now almost to exist on mere sufferance? In proportion to the magnitude and pecuniary value of an Establishment in Turkey, might be the hazard of a pledge being required, limiting not merely the operations, but even the principles, and consequently the future prospects, of such an establishment.

The objects, which seem, in some degree, to need a fixed establishment, are the following:—to teach a school of native children—to receive young men, natives, truly pious; but needing, after their conversion, further instruction, with a view to their becoming helpers and ministers of the Gospel—or to conduct the business of printing, and keeping a depôt of Bibles and tracts. Of these three objects, the first may be accomplished by a single missionary family, as well as by many; but such family must, in order

to superintend a school with effect, be stationary: the second, if there should be many converted young men, would certainly require that a missionary preceptor should be generally fixed in one place, so that he may be referred to and known to be prosecuting this one great object, surrounded by a library and all other means requisite to give completeness to his instructions: the third would, probably, require the co-operation of several persons; and would need, more than any thing else, to be a fixture.

But, taking a general view of missionary operations in the world, is the time come, or is it likely that for a few years longer it will have arrived, when considerable establishments shall be seasonable for our missions in Turkey? Compare things according to their existing proportions: compare the amount of books, and the number of effective living preachers. There is an immense quantity of books prepared and preparing for the use of unconverted nations, in all languages; but there are as yet very few missionaries, expert at speaking these languages, and laboring in the work of preaching the gospel among the natives, publicly and from house to house. In this state of things, then, it is a fair consideration, into which of these two channels ought the tide of pecuniary contribution and of public opinion to be turned the more copiously. The question has a special reference to Western Asia. Whether is the complicated and powerful machinery of missionary institutions, or the simplicity of oral preaching, the more called for at present? It is not for me to give an opinion: different nations, different societies, different denominations of christians, and even different individuals of the same, will incline to opposite sentiments; while some will aim at so modifying, as to combine, both objects. The benefit of there being many societies is, that probably every measure of utility will, in turn, be accomplished to the full. In the meanwhile, I have aimed at giving some insight into the particulars of a subject, which has already excited much interest; and which must, in process of time—perhaps within a short period—call on different societies to make their decision.

4. In whatever light the preceding remarks concerning establishments may be viewed by different persons, all, who have visited the Levant, or who have had opportunities of studying the relations of society in these regions, must be deeply persuaded of THE FITNESS OF THE TRAVELLING OR ITINERANT CHARACTER for the execution of a mission there.

Let nothing which has been said against monasticism, as a system, be considered to disparage the peculiar suitability of unmarried men (all other circumstances being equal) for apostolical services throughout the whole of Turkey. Ought it not, however, to be laid down, in the first place, as a rule almost indispensable, that unmarried missionaries should go forth two and two? The maintenance of a devout and cheerful frame of mind seems to require this: the method adopted by our Lord himself (Luke x. 2.) goes near to prescribe it: and the general usage of St. Paul and the other apostles serves peculiarly to recommend it.

This being admitted, to the advantages of the single state as implied by St. Paul (freedom from secular cares, the exposing of a narrower front to the aim of the persecutor, and the superior facility of escape from his reach) we may add the following points worthy of consideration: the unmarried may freely take a more extensive range of journeys by sea and land, nor are they tied down by the necessary rules of domestic order: a family must observe set hours, as nearly as possible; but a single man may neglect his meals, may prolong his studies, or may, when need requires, continue his discourse or his conversation till midnight: a family must have separate rooms, and the children and servants must all know their place and keep it: the entrance of a stranger, which to a single man may be a welcome circumstance, may to a family be an intrusion: the talk of a promiscuous company would occasion distraction to the domestic circle, but, to the unmarried evangelist, would afford the opportunity most desired by him for explaining the gospel to them: one or two individuals, also, may with greater ease become inmates in a family for a season.

Whoever has visited the Levant, and has remarked the peculiarly vacant, irregular, and listless habits of the natives—the way in which they saunter into a house; and, generally, the houses are open all day long—their manner of loitering about a stranger, accompanying him, following him, listening to him, gazing at him—will not have failed to receive a far more vivid impression of scripture scenery, than an Englishman could possibly acquire in his own exact, busy, and well-ordered country. The crowds, who followed Jesus from far out of every city; who staid with Him three days, till they had nothing to eat; who so pressed upon Him at the house-door, that they trode one upon another, and even to that degree that he could not eat his

food; who, at another time, crowded him off from the shore, so that he was constrained to preach to them from a ship or boat; who brought with them, in these excursions, wives and children, accounting little of time, fatigue, precarious livelihood, and, what seems most material, domestic order—such crowds would again be assembled in the Holy Land, should competent missionaries be enabled to itinerate among them. And this being the genius of the country, is it probable that missions will ever obtain great success among them, unless this method, as well as others, be systematically and skilfully adopted?

5. This mode of missionary operations (by far the most important, in the Author's view of the present wants of the Levant) implies the possession of one qualification, which is not to be obtained without great industry, and a considerable sacrifice of time and spirits to a pursuit very uncongenial to the reasoning habits of an adult. It is, **ABILITY TO DISCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES IN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE.** It is superfluous to say, that this is an indispensable qualification. If the first miracle of the Day of Pentecost had not demonstrated this truth, common sense alone would suffice to prove it.

TO SPEAK, READ, AND UNDERSTAND ARABIC FLUENTLY AND WELL—IS ESSENTIAL TO THE PROPER CONDUCT OF A MISSION IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE. This attainment, under ordinary circumstances, is not the work of so short a period as five years! The principal causes which occasion the slow progress of missionaries in the study of Arabic have been observed to be the following: the actual difficulties of the language itself; confessedly great even to a native who speaks it; much more so to the minds of western students, which have been moulded in a different idiom—the want of systematic masters, who are not easily to be had from among the native christians—the necessity of attending to other languages—climate, acting upon the constitution, and interrupting the powers of mental application—the desire, so natural, and, indeed, the duty so expedient, of soon beginning to attempt, although in an imperfect manner, some kind of missionary work; such as travelling, distributing the scriptures, maintaining correspondence, occasionally preaching in our own language, keeping a school, &c.—to which may be added, in some cases, the habit of conversing in European languages, with our own family or with Franks; whereas he, who would learn Arabic, must be for months

together in circumstances where the mind can have no escape from Arabic conversation and reading: it cannot be learned, as young persons learn French, by giving an hour or even two hours a day to the study of it: not only the eye, the ear, the throat, the hand, the memory, but all the social and sympathetic affections must be pledged and pressed into this hard Oriental service. Elementary study of Arabic may very properly occupy some months in Europe; but it is by practice in the East, that the operative missionary must store his mind with the requisite *copia verborum*, and adapt his vocal organs to the fearful utterance of this language. Nor, after many years practice in Arabic, is a European to be trusted as a translator: idiom, except by something approaching to miracle, he will never catch: that must be left for native minds: it will be sufficient for the missionary to be able to write intelligibly: his style, however excellent, will never reach that degree of critical propriety, which in written documents may fairly be required.

6. The last remark, suggested to the mind by the review of former missions, is one of exceedingly great importance; and carries with itself so much weight, as to need but few words to express it: HOW STUDIOUSLY SHOULD MISSIONARIES AIM AT IMPRESSING ON THE MINDS OF ALL AROUND THEM, THAT THEY COME, NOT TO MAKE A PARTY, BUT SOLELY TO PROMOTE THE GOOD OF THOSE, AMONG WHOM THEY EXERCISE THEIR OFFICE!

If Mohammedans, or Jews, or the christians of various denominations in the East, perceive a man laboring among them, under (I will not say the bias of evil passions or selfish interests, but under) the bias of a strong predilection for his own nation, his own government, or his own communion; they will so far regard him as a man seeking to make converts to his own favorite opinions or habits. Giving ground for a suspicion like this, he will greatly diminish his usefulness.

An Englishman needs only to reflect on the temper of many of his own countrymen, in order to understand how fatally preconceived partialities operate, to keep men from commencing or maintaining a mutual good-understanding. With what difficulty is a man of one party persuaded, that his welfare is sincerely wished by a person of another; or, as our common parlance is, by a person of an OPPOSITE party! How soon does a slight degree of acquaintance sat-

isfy such persons! Intimacy and cordiality seem to them neither attainable, nor to be desired.

And such will be the coldness subsisting between a missionary and those to whom he is sent, unless he aim at attaching their feelings to something higher than his mission—to Christianity itself! His very coming implies that he thinks them some way in the wrong: his conversations declare this sentiment more plainly: their feelings are, consequently, his natural enemies; only to be overcome, to use the emphatic words of scripture, *with good*: (Rom. xii. 21.) But it must be *good* of the purest and most unmixed nature. However excellent may be the institutions of his own nation, the character of his countrymen, or the professed faith of his own communion, these do not furnish that plenitude of *good*, which ought to fill his whole soul, and overflow from his heart to theirs. It must be the preaching of the Bible, not of his own creed; the genuine benignity of the christian religion, not the integrity alone of his national character: rather, it must be the very *mind which was in Christ* dwelling within him, which will alone persuade the natives of the East that the visitor from the West has traversed land and sea altogether and exclusively for their benefit.

Past missions, especially those which have been alluded to in this chapter, assist us very little—too often, indeed, they hinder us—in our endeavors to acquire just ideas of what a christian mission should be. Churches, in form far purer than that of Rome, have yet, in spirit, long lived—and many of their members still live—in vain-glory, worldly-mindedness, and selfishness. In various degrees it may be said, “*All seek their own; not the things that are Jesus Christ’s*.” We must rise to the contemplation of primitive times: we must reflect what that was, which could induce such a man as St. Paul to suffer the loss of all things: our minds must travel with the other apostles, and form a lively image of their labors among Jews and Greeks, among Barbarians and Scythians, among every class and condition of our suffering and sinful fellow-creatures. How did THEY persuade their hearers, that they sought their happiness? not by extolling one another, or by celebrating Jerusalem as the mother-church, or by demanding in an assuming manner the faith or respect of the various cities which they visited: but by preaching Christ crucified; by being like their Master; and by holding up the same common standard, for themselves and for all with whom they had to do—*Be ye followers of*

us, even as we also are of Christ. Such simplicity and lowliness of mind, such disinterestedness, fidelity, and affection, the churches of Christ, now almost for the first time entering upon extensive missions, greatly need; and, whenever these graces shall be poured in a large measure on their members and their missionaries, then may they expect to see the multitude of the Gentiles flowing toward them, and collecting, together with them, under the standard of the Redeemer!



CRITICAL AND DEVOUT STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

To understand fully the sense of the Holy Scriptures, requires diligent study, and a considerable degree of mental cultivation. To obtain an experimental feeling of their spiritual application, requires the submitting of the heart, in prayer, to the teaching of that divine Spirit; by whose inspiration all scripture was given; without whose influence, the most knowing and accomplished scholar must remain in ignorance: *for the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.* (1 Cor. ii. 14.)

Neither of these two qualifications—the critical understanding and the spiritual feeling of the Scriptures—should be wanting in a minister or in a missionary. Without a spiritual sense of divine truth, so far from being qualified to teach, he has, as yet, the most important of all things to learn: without critical knowledge, although he may in most essential things speak feelingly, he is still very scantily qualified to be a safe teacher.

There are several points of view, in which the magnitude of this subject has deeply impressed the Author's mind: he will endeavor to lay them before the reader.

In reference to that qualification of a missionary, so clearly expressed by St. Paul, *apt to teach*, it is hardly possible, that, in its full extent, it should be possessed, either by an illiterate or by an irreverent person. To *declare all the counsel of God*—what less can this require, than an enlarged and enlightened heart, to comprehend the divine

counsels as revealed in the sacred writings? Are the subjects of man's corruption, his justification by the merits of Christ, his sanctification inseparably connected with a justified state, his privileges and duties interwoven, all his spiritual warfare and the mystery of the work of the Spirit—or the subjects of the evidences for the truth of christianity, the nature of the divine attributes and government, the various relations of life, with the consequent developement of the grand relative duties—are all these to be easily learned? or, with less than a competent acquaintance with them all, can the man of God be regarded as thoroughly furnished unto all good works?

When the difficulty of conversing in a foreign language is considered, the magnitude of the missionary's duty in this respect is still further seen; for he has not only to comprehend the meaning of scriptural expressions in the original tongues and in his own, but to be careful that he transposes accurately this meaning into the language of the people to whom he is sent. If we contemplate a further case, which it is most desirable that a missionary should be prepared to meet, namely, his being called upon to superintend translations of the scriptures or of religious tracts, he will then more strongly feel the indispensable necessity of critical and studious habits.

Yet all this degree of literary acquirement should exist in most missionary spheres (and it will not be well till it is thus found in all) united with active habits of conversation and preaching. It is manifest, therefore, that the great foundation of biblical studies ought to be well laid, before a missionary goes forth to his station. His future studies and labors will thenceforth go on hand in hand, mutually aiding each other. He will not, indeed, be perfect in either; but he will be a practical proficient in both: which is much better than to be either a profound, but unprofitable, scholar; or a superficial man, ready of utterance and enterprising in action, but of mind unfurnished and uncultivated.

How many in England, who have been educated piously, have frequently, for a considerable time, limited their studies to the simple text of scripture; reading continually and frequently such favorite passages or books as they have found most conducive to their edification! As they have advanced to the period when, on undertaking the ministerial office, it becomes necessary to know more and even to compose sermons, still their studies have been of a very confined and

superficial nature. Popular authors of the day, together with one or two periodical reviews considered by them as standard, and a few fugitive controversial pieces, have sometimes constituted the range of study taken by worthy and zealous men; while the weekly demands of the pulpit on a minister in England are not always such as to detect the negligences of the study. This temptation to superficial reading is peculiarly incident to persons situated in a country sphere.

But, in a foreign station, a man will discover how difficult it is to teach persons who are possessed of neither knowledge nor docility; whose habits, moreover, render them strange to us as teachers, and us as strange to them. In dealing with such characters, however, there is no book so suitable, with which to begin, continue, and end our instructions, as the Bible. It is the only book of which we can say, that it is full of wisdom and speaks directly to the conscience. When rightly and judiciously used, there is something in it which meets every case: it enlightens the eyes, and makes wise the simple.

We may venture to assert, consequently, that one of the highest missionary acquirements, to which human talent, aided by divine grace, can attain, is that of expounding to a promiscuous company the truths of the Bible, in the spirit of the Bible. This is a gift, however, not obtained without real exertion. It requires patient good sense, exercised in the proper meaning of words, in the history of facts and opinions, and in the characters of men: it requires a spirit of prayer, integrity of conscience, self-knowledge, and a devout habit of self-application in the regular private use of scripture.

This is pre-eminently a qualification, to the acquisition of which every missionary should be recommended to bend his constant studies. The habit of topical preaching, as it is called, that is, composing a sermon on some one text or subject, has its peculiar advantages, as it respects both the minister and his congregation. It is principally adapted, however, for stated home-purposes: in the conduct of a mission, it is of unspeakably greater importance to be able to give, fully, yet accurately, an exposition of a considerable portion of scripture; explaining with sufficient distinctness the various parts, and comprehensively setting forth the principal bearings of the whole. From ten to twenty or fifty verses, according to the nature of the passage, will

generally furnish matter—on some occasions, for fundamental, doctrinal or practical statements; on others, for lively historical illustration; on others, for cherishing the christian graces; and, on others, for enlarging the prospects and stimulating the activity of christians. The superior advantage of this practice is, that to the ignorant and unenlightened a greater quantity of pure scripture truth may thus be exhibited. And, supposing the expounder not to allow himself to fall into a loose, desultory, common-place method of talking, but to make his exposition a business of previous study, he on his part, will soon discover that this practice greatly requires, and will amply repay, the closest application of the mind.

A scriptural exposition of this kind will never degenerate into the dryness and coldness of a critical or ethical lecture, if (addressed, as we understand it to be, to the heathen, or even to better instructed foreigners) it should occasionally be interrupted by questions, or by description.

Missionaries are, at present, generally embarrassed with the toil, either of travelling, or of learning or fixing new languages, or even of preparing in the midst of rude and uncivilized society a fit habitation and needful supplies for themselves. In this respect many of the present generation are *hewers of wood and drawers of water* to those of the next. Happy will it be, when missionaries shall have obtained sufficient freedom from these preliminary cares, to allow of their giving themselves entirely to the *ministry of the word and prayer*—occupying themselves, from house to house, daily, in this manner, with small and casual parties; without waiting for the formality of meeting a large and stated assembly.

The Author here takes occasion to repeat the hint, which he threw out in the course of his Anniversary Sermon before the Church Missionary Society in the year 1821; concerning the necessity of having, in foreign languages, good commentaries on the Bible; and standard works of critical as well as of experimental, divinity.

The direct advantages of this study of the scriptures, with a view to habits of free and profitable exposition, have been the more fully delineated, on account of the circumstance already alluded to; namely, the secular and literary interruptions incident to many missionaries of the present

Some of the COLLATERAL BENEFITS of the course recommended may now be briefly stated.

1. Missionaries will naturally desire to be the instruments of raising up native teachers; who may, when duly qualified, become ministers of the gospel to their countrymen: but if it requires a thorough study of the scriptures, in order to teach hearers in general, so that we may not be found guilty of handling the sacred oracles presumptuously, or of misleading a multitude through our ignorance or imperfect knowledge; how much more is a critical and devout knowledge of the Bible requisite, for those who have to train and form candidates for the sacred office! It is a task of such awful magnitude, that the heart is ready to sink under the thought of it. How should *the Word of Christ dwell in us richly in all wisdom!* What attention to *reading, to exhortation, to doctrine*, does this prospect claim from the missionary; when he reflects that many younger ministers, like Timothy and Titus, may, in course of time, look up to him as their instructor and father in Christ!

2. The Author, in common with many others, has viewed with the liveliest interest the great augmentation of Protestant missionaries in the countries of the Mediterranean. It is nearly ten years since he was appointed to this sphere. Shortly before that period, there had been one English missionary, who, after a brief residence in Malta, died of a pulmonary complaint; and also one German missionary, who, in a very little time, withdrew from his undertaking, and retired to his native country. Subsequently, the number of missionaries and Bible Society agents, who have been actively engaged in the Mediterranean, has amounted to about twenty-two, of whom several have families: the greater part of these remain in their stations; two or three only having retired, and others having been removed by death. They represent not fewer than seven Protestant societies.

As might be expected from undertakings in their nascent state, the various missionaries have acted, so far as the Author has had opportunity to know, generally in a spirit of harmony and good-will: not ignorant, indeed, of various differences of opinion, which subsist among themselves and among the various denominations or societies to which they belong; but, with a wise forbearance, losing sight of these minor considerations in the magnitude of their respective engagements; or merging them in the fulness of

that christian affection, which usually abounds in the earlier periods of enterprise.

It is not, perhaps, much to be feared, but that this harmonious state may yet, for many years, continue to subsist. But there is an enemy, who views it with bitter malice, and is on the watch to mar it in the first moment that he shall be permitted. All the questions, which in ancient or modern times have distracted the church, the great author of confusion would gladly bring before the missionaries and their respective friends—bring them, too, in such a manner, as might stir up many malignant and disquieting passions. Divided opinions on matters of church government, and various public measures—disputes about doctrines of baptisms, and laying on of hands—excessive attachment to human names and human creeds—discussions, even to strife, concerning essential points; such as Regeneration, Justification, and Sanctification—literary contentions concerning versions of the scriptures and other books—angry partialities relating to interpretations of the unaccomplished prophetic writings—and, in brief, (as the number of individuals or families, and, consequently, their amount of property, increases,) murmurings at neglect or mismanagement, in the daily or yearly ministrations: all these, together with CORRUPT LIVING, may possibly enter! Once entered, it is not according to human nature that they should speedily retire. The consequences of strife, heresy, and party-spirit are too truly depicted in one expression of St. Paul—*Evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived*:

It is in the contemplation of such possible evils, that the mind sees an appointed counteracting principle, in the critical and devout study of the Holy Scriptures. It seems to have been peculiarly impressed on the apostle's view, that this was the most effectual remedy: he follows up, therefore, his denunciation of *foolish and unlearned questions*, with this practical charge to his beloved Timothy:—*But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect,*

thoroughly furnished unto all good works. (2 Tim. iii. 14—17.)

3. It may be noticed as one remaining advantage of a sound knowledge of the Scriptures, that not only will it rescue missionaries from that scorn which has by many been thrown on Protestants, on the ground of the abuse of private judgment; but it may also become the powerful means of extensively recommending the grand principles of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for our salvation, and the universal right of mankind to the free reading of them.

Those christian churches which have been governed according to the principles of intolerance, are accustomed to look on Protestantism as the profession of an undefinable, fickle, and half-unbelieving mass of people, split into numerous factions, and capable of carrying their schisms to an unlimited length. All this they regard as inevitably arising from allowing individuals to think for themselves. We reply, that wherever such evils exist among Protestants, they spring from the abuse of that liberty. Our answer, however, entails upon us another consideration, commensurate at least with the magnitude of the alleged abuse: it is this—"In what way, then, may private judgment be safely used?" We scruple not to answer—"In the critical and devout study of Holy Scripture." We have no other standard than Scripture, by which to guide ourselves and others. Rome, it is true, has decided for a living judge; who, to be finally authoritative, must, of necessity be accounted infallible: but with this fiction we can have nothing to do: it is unfounded in revelation; and, upon long experience, it has failed of success. But, if Protestants unite in regarding the Bible as their common standard, they must study the Bible—they must live in the spirit of the Bible. Thus may they expect, notwithstanding the great infirmities of human judgment and human temper, not merely that their missions in the Mediterranean shall be preserved free from every cause of reasonable reproach; but, that they will be distinguished by their exemplary spirit of union, and be rendered effective instruments of converting multitudes to the knowledge and love of the Gospel.

THE BIBLE SOCIETY:

ITS PRINCIPLES, OPERATIONS, AND EXTENSION.

THE Bible Society being a kind of central standard, by which the opinions and measures of many societies and individuals are, and long will continue to be, influenced, it may be useful to delineate somewhat in detail the several principles on which the Bible Society is established. In proportion as each is developed and distinctly marked, different persons will, according to the gifts bestowed upon them, take up that department which he can best cultivate. That noble institution, worthy of all praise and of all aid, will, when its various component parts shall each of them be efficiently supported, stretch forth its munificent hands, scattering over the face of the habitable globe a larger measure of blessings than has ever yet been known by mankind.

Not with any desire to excite needless offence, but from the necessity which exists for correcting or repelling such offences, we purpose, at each succeeding step of the following argument, to state those principles, which operate to counteract or to retard the work of the Bible Society.

1. The first and most essential principle is, THE DIVINE INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

If it were not the fact, that the Bible was written by men *moved by the Holy Ghost*, we should have no ground on which to stand, better than mere human opinion. But when our faith in the being and attributes of God is accompanied with the conviction that this holy volume is His own revelation of His will, so far as He intended us to know that will here on earth, our reverence for this Book must exceed our reverence for any thing else existing in the world.

How deeply, then, are they to be pitied, who, under the darkness of Paganism, or the blindness of Judaism, or the illusions of Mohammedanism, or the madness of infidelity, reject or resist this volume of truth! How high is the obligation, which rests on all true christians, to establish the evidences of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures; accompanying all their proofs with the persuasive example of *personal piety*!

2. The Bible Society implies, further, the principle of THE SUFFICIENCY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FOR SALVATION: for, if any thing were admitted to be deficient, it ought to be supplied; and thus note and comment would be introduced, contrary to the fundamental rule of the society. No censure is passed on notes, as being useless: but they are omitted, as being not essential; the Scriptures containing in themselves all things necessary to salvation.

It is on this fundamental principle, that a large body of professing christians are at variance with the Bible Society. The doctrine of oral traditions handed down, continually in the church, and equal in value with the Scripture; the *lex non scripta*, as well as *lex scripta*—and the doctrine of the perpetual inspiration of the Holy Ghost, conveyed to a certain body of men, congregated after a particular manner, under a certain visible head (although it is much controverted among themselves, whether that individual at the head does of himself speak inspired things, or whether the head and the whole body together be the organ of inspiration)—these two dogmas, namely, the necessity of oral traditions, and the divine inspiration and unerring authority either of the Bishop of Rome or of a council assembled under his directions, are wholly neglected and passed over by the Bible Society. But these are dogmas, which Rome feels to be essential to the maintenance of her high pretensions in the world: she has, consequently, not been backward to display her resentment at the operations of so great, so nobly patronised, and so efficient an institution.

Let Rome, however, be judged of by mankind, according to her own strict principle. Agreeably to this, the *lex scripta* is, in truth, not what we term the Holy Scriptures merely; but, together with them, the acts at least of the first seven general councils, and of the council of Trent: not less than this total amount is their BIBLE. In addition to this, it is impossible for any man to divine what may, at a future period, be declared binding by a council similar to that assembled at Trent. The opening clause of the 28th verse of Acts ch. xv. is the principle which was arrogated by that council; and the construction put on that expression by every genuine Romanist secures a privilege, at which the world might tremble—the privilege of legislating as gods.

3. The Bible Society virtually implies, and really acts upon, the principle of THE RIGHT OF ALL MEN TO READ THE SCRIPTURES. For, since all ought to have a knowledge of

the will of God, and the Bible contains an all-sufficient revelation of his will, and reading is one of the methods of knowing these contents of the Scripture, it follows, that, for the promotion of the universal knowledge of God's will, one of the most efficient methods is the universal reading of the Bible.

Although, in contravention of this principle, there be no where laid down by any church the broad declaration, that the people are not allowed to read the Scriptures; and although the utmost that is censured by the council of Trent be, the "indiscriminate reading" of the Bible: yet, in practice, it is well known, that, in various Papal countries, there exists a feeling diametrically hostile to the free circulation of the Scriptures. The principle avowed is, the exclusive right of the priesthood to INTERPRET Scripture. But what should hinder the priest, when he has expounded a chapter of the Bible, from putting that chapter, printed, into the hands of his hearers; so that they may, by perusing it at home, refresh their memories? And, in like manner, what should hinder him, while expounding the whole Bible, from putting into their hands a printed Bible, in order that their attention to the text and their hearing of the interpretation may go hand in hand? A priesthood, acting according to the Bible, would certainly desire this; and from no priesthood, thinking or acting otherwise, would it be expedient for the Bible Society to take counsel.*

* From a celebrated work of a dignitary of the Russian church, Archbishop Platow, it is gratifying to observe, that the withholding of the Scriptures from the people is no part of the character of that church; as the proceedings of the Russian Bible Society have since most abundantly evinced. At the same time, the western Protestant churches receive a censure, which partly is too severe, and partly is by no means to their discredit. It is certain, that, in proportion as the operations of the Bible Society—under which term may be comprised a thousand Associations all one in principle—shall bring christian churches acquainted with one another, they will learn to respect one another more; for they will become more zealous, more enlightened, and more sound in all fundamental points.

With this preliminary remark, the author ventures to quote the following passage from Archbishop Platow; the tenor of which is favorable to the general circulation of the Scriptures, although it presses hard on those churches which are not of the Greek communion. Speaking of the properties of the true church, he observes—"Hence this church only cuts off all those, who either do not receive the word of God, or mix their own improper opinions with it: therefore the society of such people is not a church, but an assembly holding heterodox opinions, which is governed by the spirit of division, and not by the Spirit of God. Even at the present time, to the offence of Christians, we behold three chief sects or parties in Christianity; Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists. They are mutually in opposition to one another. Popery, exclusive of its being filled with the most pernicious superstitions and the edicts of popes, in contradiction to the word of God, blindly holds the tenet in regard to the proceeding of the Holy Ghost above-mentioned, and explains it in opposition to the clear testimony of Holy Scripture. It has also taken away from the common people the cup in the communion, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures.

"The Lutherans and Calvinists dissented, not long ago, from popery, under Luther and Calvin; whom passion, more than any thing else, excited to this novelty. They, in avoiding Popish superstitions and superfluities, threw away, together with them, the holy apostolical traditions of the first churches."

4. A further principle implied in the very term "Holy Scriptures," is, that they are THOSE BOOKS WHICH, ON GOOD EVIDENCE, ARE PROVED TO HAVE BEEN OF DIVINE INSPIRATION.

The usual term by which this has been expressed, is, the CANONICAL books of the Old and New Testament.* The books commonly called apocryphal have no good evidence, either external or internal, to demonstrate them to have been divinely inspired; while there is much of both kinds of evidence on the contrary side.†

The archbishop candidly acknowledges afterward, that there are some defects among the individuals of the Greek-Russian church. "Among those who hold to our church," he observes, "there may exist a certain kind of superstition and abuse; but our church does not justify such improprieties: she rather mourns over them, reproves and corrects them."

In the chapter entitled, "Of Traditions and Ceremonies," he speaks of these in a manner which shews that he does not attach to them any idea of divine virtue: in fact, he treats of ceremonies only, and not of what the church of Rome entitles traditions, including faith as well as practice. The Archbishop produces simply a few ecclesiastical rites as examples of traditions and ceremonies. "In the Church," he observes, "there are many ceremonies, which have descended from the days of the apostles themselves, or were instituted by their immediate successors, and have been observed by all holy antiquity; and, though our salvation does not consist in them, yet they possess their own share of usefulness, and we are bound with all due respect to observe them. Such, for instance, are the traditions following:—then are specified, the use of splendid sacerdotal garments, the burning of candles in the churches, the use of incense, the sign of the cross, the consecration of waters, the veneration of pictures, and the observance of holidays. "These," he adds, "and such like ceremonies, our church preserveth holy: however, she disclaimeth all superstition, that is, such traditions as are contrary to the word of God, and unknown in holy antiquity." *Pinkerton's State of the Greek church in Russia*: pp. 161—163, and 194—196.

From the last quoted passage, there is sufficient ground to believe, that, in proportion as the Oriental churches shall become generally enlightened as to the relative merits of divine Scripture, and apostolical tradition, they will universally acknowledge the value of tradition to be evanescent, in comparison with the worth of Scripture. Not so the Romish church, which has placed both upon a par. "Omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti . . . necnon traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam veloretenuis a Christo, vel Spiritu sancto dictatas, et continua successione in ecclesia catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur."

Acta. Conc. Tridentini, Sessio IV. 8 April 1546.

* Vide Article VIth of the Church of England.

† The question of the Apocryphal writings is introduced by Leslie, in his acute dissertation on "Private Judgment and Authority," where the state of that part of the controversy is thus represented, in the dialogue supposed to be held between a Roman Catholic and a Church of England man.

"Rom. Cath.—After all you have said, how do you know the canonical books of Scripture, but by the authority of the church.

"Ch. Eng.—Not at all by her authority, but by her evidence. There is a great difference: I pray you to consider it. There were false Gospels and false Epistles inscribed to several of the apostles, set up by the heretics in the first age; and they were detected in that same age, while the originals of what the apostles wrote were still in being. But the heretics could not produce the originals of theirs; nor did their copies agree with one another, as Eusebius tells us: (*Hist. lib. v. cap. 28.*) And this was not deciding the matter by authority, but by plain evidence of a fact, as of any other forgery or supposititious writing.

"But you state the matter so, as if there were a heap of papers, of many hundred years past—some genuine, some spurious, all confusedly thrown together; and that it were left to the church to distinguish these by her authority; and that we were obliged so to receive them, without knowing any more of the matter, and had nothing but her authority to trust to. But this, Sir, is far from being the case. The canon of the Scripture was settled at the time, when it could be done by full evidence, and the notoriety of the thing was known to all: and we have received it down from that time, in copies so universally spread through the christian world, that it is impossible to add or detract from it, without a general detection of the forgery by all churches. And this has preserved the canon of the New Testament so entire, that there is no difference about it between you and us, or any other christian church.

5. Another principle for which the Bible Society is responsible, is the MAINTENANCE, AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE, OF A PURE AND ORIGINAL TEXT. The effort to give the Word of God to all mankind brings this subject forward as one of great importance.

Three languages, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, have acquired, in the eyes of various nations, an almost sacred character, from being the earliest vehicles, now extant, of the Holy Scriptures—the Latin entirely, and the Greek partly, in translations; the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament, as originals. To these may be added the Syriac.

It is well known by biblical philologists, that there are considerable discrepancies between the Hebrew Old Testament and Greek version of it by the LXX.; as also between the original texts of the Old and New Testaments and the Latin version of them entitled the *vulgate*.*

In the midst of these *Varia Lectiones*, it has been hitherto judged the wisest practical measure to print for every country the version most esteemed by it, whether it were according to the original, the septuagint, or the *vulgate*. The discrepancies, however numerous, are not in kind so dangerous as to shake any vital point of revealed religion. Viewing, therefore, the importance, on the one side, of giving speedily and universally the knowledge of the Scriptures, partly according to the originals, and partly according to accepted and competent versions; and, on the other side, the extremely small hazard of compromising the integrity of Scripture; it might fairly be asked, Would it have been

"It is true, indeed, we differ with you as to the canon of the Old Testament. But we have the Jews on our side for this, who never received those books, we call apocryphal, into their canon. They were not wrote in their language, at least most of them. And I might bring in the Jew again to reason the case with you, how you came to understand their canon better than themselves, who were in possession of it many hundred years before Christianity, and were so careful as to number the very letters.

"But I will not prolong this, nor enter into the particular disputes between your church and ours; my business being now only to consider the foundation principle of the authority of the church, upon which all the rest depend. I will only say this further as to these Apocryphal books, that St. Jerome, in his *Prologus Galeatus*, printed before all your Vulgar Latin Bibles that I have seen, excludes all these by name out of the canon, and says the church did so too. And we may suppose that so learned a father, who had himself translated the Scriptures, knew what the church received in his time. And it seems strange to me, that such a flagrant testimony against you should stand in the front of your own Bibles. But if you would have further satisfaction as to this point, I refer you to Bishop Cosin's elaborate History of the Canon of the Scriptures, which has not been answered by any of your church, that I hear of; for it seems to carry demonstration along with it, proceeding wholly upon fact, and giving vouchers in abundance."

* On the question, whether the text of the Scriptures has suffered any material corruption, the reader may derive the greatest satisfaction from the perusal of an article by professor Lee, in his Appendix to the "Persian controversies;" where the argument is exhibited in the most full and luminous manner. Vide ch. II. pp. 474—533.

right to pause, and defer the promulgation of the Bible, till mankind should have agreed on a uniform text—a thing, practically speaking, neither attainable nor essential? The more rational course has been taken; the original Scriptures, the septuagint, and the vulgate, have all been used by the Bible Society. And, from this very policy, the following great benefit will arise—as the multitude of persons interested and skilled in biblical criticism will thus certainly increase in Britain, in France, in Germany, in Russia, in Greece, in the Indies, and in the New World, a stronger stimulus will be communicated to their researches after a pure and standard text; the incorrect points of each received text will be discerned and acknowledged; and the Bible will thus attain, in every part of the world, a character, which no other book merits or could possibly acquire—that of having been tried, again and again, in the severest furnace of criticism, and having ever been found to be, in its essential character, pure as the purest gold.

6. With regard, however, to new versions of the Scriptures, the Bible Society stands in a different situation. In adopting ancient translations, which were made or copied under disadvantages beyond the reach of present control, we may well bear with those inaccuracies,

— quas aut incuria fedit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.—

But in an age blest with so much liberty of biblical investigation, and supplied with such ample materials of every description of literature, it may justly be required that NEW VERSIONS SHOULD BE EXECUTED WITH THE UTMOST ADVANTAGES THAT CAN BE HAD. These, therefore, the Bible Society endeavors to attain, by putting into activity all persons who can in any way contribute to the great end. The claims preferred by the Bible Society may justly challenge the attention of the most learned, devoted, opulent, and influential churches, universities, institutions and individuals: with them it rests to do the greatest possible act of justice and of benevolence, by accurately translating the word of God, in all languages, for the use of the whole human race.

Nor has the plea been made in vain. The most distinguished patronage has been already given to this object, in every country of the earth, excepting those over which the long night of ignorance, superstition, and intolerance

still hovers, reluctant to disperse. Myriads of free hearts, accomplished minds, and holy spirits are, at once, the willing agents and the intrepid guardians of the principles of the Bible Society.

Of the immense toil which attends the work of translating the Scriptures, however, none can possibly form an adequate idea who have not been actually engaged in it. The two parts of this work are obvious: it requires the understanding of the sense of the original; and an acquaintance with the idiom of the vernacular tongue into which the translation is made. These two branches present difficulties, which cannot be met, generally, by fewer than two persons. It were well that every version should have, if possible, the aid of many more.

It is to learned individuals and to learned works, that recourse must be had for an opinion on questions of biblical criticism: it is to natives, that we must look for the true idiom of a foreign language.

How vastly superior will a converted and pious native translator be, in comparison with one who is not pious! Not merely will his heart be in the work, but he will possess a more spiritual apprehension of the true sense of Scripture. Especially, it may be remarked, the epistolary writings of the New Testament will, perhaps, never be well translated, except under the superintendence and with the aid of pious and well-instructed persons.

It is not every objection, nor indeed is it many and powerful literary objections, that should be admitted as condemnatory of a new version, provided no fundamental doctrine is shaken: before, however, a version is generally allowed and highly sanctioned, it ought to have the best recommendations which the nature of the case admits.

Objections have been made, in different ages, to versions of the Bible by persons who were enemies either to the Bible itself or to its general circulation. The fairest reply to this class of objectors is, to put them on the duty of pointing out and amending what they think to be faulty. Refusing to do this, they betray their hostile principles; for no person, desirous that the Bible should be universally read, would hesitate to give his best assistance to its being faithfully and well translated.*

* At the glorious period of the reformation, when the Church of England took her firm stand on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, her enemies sometimes attacked the right of the people to the use of the Bible: at other times, they took lower ground, and inveighed against the competency of the translations executed in that day. In the

In reference to the Mediterranean, the author will here briefly notice the progress which is making in several languages. Since the publication of his volume of researches in 1822, the four gospels in Amharic have been printed in England, under the superintendence of Mr. Platt, and copies of them have been forwarded to Abyssinia. To give completeness to this work, by furnishing the ancient as well as the modern text, the British and Foreign Bible Society was in want of a perfect and well accredited MS. of the Ethiopic Gospels: the author, having happily met with a very fine copy of the whole of the New Testament in Ethiopic at Jerusalem, purchased it on account of the Church Missionary Society; which has since presented it, together with some other MSS., to the Bible Society. The Syriac Old Testament has been completed under the superintendence of professor Lee; and will be hailed with admiration by many in Syria, in Mesopotamia, and in India. The Gospel

present yet more wondrous epoch, when whole nations, both in the Old and in the New World, appear to be struggling forth to raise themselves to a better state of things, and the religious part of mankind are anxiously bent on giving to them all that which is their sole security, the Bible; opposition may be expected to assume the same course as formerly: either the alarm will be excited, as though the general diffusion of the Bible tended to free-thinking and sedition; or else the versions will, perhaps, be represented as illiterate and inadequate. To such objections we may give the same reply, as was in the first-mentioned period given by the fathers of the Anglican church: the following extracts from the homilies, and from Archbishop Parker's preface, will meet, respectively, the two classes of objectors.

"The great utility and profit, that christian men and women may take—if they will—by hearing and reading the Holy Scriptures, dearly beloved, no heart can sufficiently conceive; much less is any tongue able with words to express.

"Wherefore Satan our old enemy, seeing the Scriptures to be the very mean, and right way, to bring the people to the true knowledge of God, and that christian religion is greatly furthered by diligent hearing and reading of them, he also perceiving what a hindrance and let they be to him and his kingdom, doth what he can to drive the reading of them out of God's church. And, for that end, he hath always stirred up, in one place or other, cruel tyrants, sharp persecutors, and extreme enemies unto God and His infallible truth, to pull with violence the Holy Bibles out of the people's hands: and they have most spitefully destroyed and consumed the same to ashes in the fire; pretending, most untruly, that the much hearing and reading of God's Word is an occasion of heresy and carnal liberty, and the overthrow of all good order in all well-ordered commonwealths. If to know God aright be an occasion of evil, then we must needs grant that the hearing and reading of the Holy Scriptures is the cause of heresy, carnal liberty, and the subversion of all good order. But the knowledge of God, and of ourselves, is so far from being an occasion of evil, that it is the readiest, yea, the only mean to bridle carnal liberty, and to kill all our fleshly affections. And the ordinary way to attain this knowledge, is with diligence to hear and read the Holy Scriptures. For the whole Scriptures, with St. Paul, were given by the inspiration of God."—*Homily of Information on certain places of Holy Scriptures.*

"And we may behold the endeavor of some men's cavillations, who labor all they can to slander the translators, to find fault in some words of the translation; but themselves will never set pen to the book, to set out any translation at all: they can in their constitutions provincial, under-pain of excommunication, inhibit all other men to translate them, without the ordinaries or the provincial council agree therunto. But they will be well ware never to agree, or give counsel to set them out; which, their subtle compass, in effect tendeth but to bewray what inwardly they mean, if they could bring it about; that is utterly to suppress them: being in this their judgment far unlike the old fathers in the primitive church, who have exhorted indifferently all persons, as well men as women, to exercise themselves in the Scriptures, which by St. Jerome's authority, be the Scriptures of the people."—*Archbishop Parker's Preface to the Bible published by him A. D. 1572, commonly called the Bishop's Bible.*

This prelate was the first Metropolitan of all England under Queen Elizabeth.

of St. Matthew has been printed at Corfu, in the Albanian language, by the Ionian Bible Society. The great work of the modern Greek Scriptures appears, unhappily, to meet with some retarding causes.

In consideration of the very large proportion of christians in Syria, who belong to the Greek Rite, and consequently are in fraternal communion with those, who, in Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Greece, use the Greek New Testament, the Author was induced to employ a learned Priest of Jerusalem, Ysa Petros, who has been repeatedly mentioned in his journal, to commence an Arabic version of the New Testament according to the original Greek: both the languages are familiar to him. This translation has been received in Malta, perfect, as far as to the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The use of it may not be immediate; but it may at a future period, be wanted. The expence of executing it was inconsiderable. The basis of it was the propaganda version, which Ysa Petros followed, making every where alterations conformable to the original Greek.

The Arabic Bible of the propaganda, it is generally stated is intelligible in Syria: this is true; yet it contains very many words not at all used in common conversation: were it more universally read, these words might, probably, come into use; or, if this should not be effected, were education to become general, so as to lead to the fixing of a modern Arabic dialect for western Asia, a new version would be found an expedient undertaking. On hearing common persons attempt to read the Arabic Bible, it is manifest, that, while they catch the leading sense, they occasionally falter at particular words: this may arise from a defect, either in the version, or in their education; probably from both.

7. The last principal to be noticed, as entering into the constitution of a Bible society, is one common to a thousand other benevolent institutions—that of VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION. It were superfluous to enlarge on this topic. All, who have had the happiness to contribute to the actual operations of the Bible Society, must have seen, that, wherever people are sufficiently enlightened to comprehend the principles on which this Institution is formed, and possessed of sufficient purity of motive to maintain those principles in their simplicity and integrity, it is then best, for the sake of greater success, to adopt the truly christian method of union: nor is any union so likely to be effective and durable, as that which is cemented by a feeling of free will and free choice.

SUGGESTIONS ON A BIBLE SOCIETY AT JERUSALEM.

It had been suggested in the instructions delivered to the Author in 1815, as an interesting subject of inquiry on the spot, whether a Bible Society could not be formed at Jerusalem. Too familiar as he has since become with the state and temper of professing christians in the Levant, he frankly owns that he did not, in his recent journey to Palestine, entertain sanguine hopes of such an establishment: nor was the object much upon his mind, till a remark from his fellow-traveller, as they were crossing the Plain of Galilee, strongly recalled it to his recollection. Subsequent conversations, both on their way to Jerusalem and in that city itself, led them to suspend their expectations; believing that equal or much greater benefit would, under present circumstances, be derived from measures less complex and less ostensible, than the term "Society" implies. Christian co-operation is, in fact, little understood in Turkey; and, from the publicity of such a kind of union, the natives would shrink with trembling. Not to lose sight of the principles, however, in which it would be desirable that Christians, under more auspicious circumstances, should concur, the Author drew up, in short compass, a few leading topics; with the intention, had it been advisable, that they should be submitted to the ecclesiastics of the different communions at Jerusalem; and, if they should agree, be signed by them, and by Mr. Fisk, and others of the missionaries from Europe and America. There appeared, however, sufficient reason for not circulating them; and they are now first presented to the eye of the English reader. He will find that they dwell more on fundamental principles, than on the technical details of business; the reason of which will be very well understood by those, who have witnessed how little of system and of energy is to be found among the Orientals, in following up voluntary plans of usefulness. For this, as will be seen by the concluding sentence, it will be necessary to look to our brother missionaries.

"1. We, [the Undersigned,] acknowledging it to be the duty of every man to communicate to his fellow-creatures the knowledge of that which will be useful to them, and being persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain a merciful revelation of the will of God to mankind, do account

ourselves bound to make known these scriptures by their general distribution.

"2. The books of Holy Scripture, which have been from the first acknowledged as given by God's holy inspiration, are as follows: [here to enumerate by name the books of the Old and New Testaments, omitting the Apocrypha:] and these books, either singly, or a few of them together, according as they were at first given to the Church of God, or entire as one volume, it is our desire to see universally circulated.

"3. As all nations of the earth are equally interested in these books and equally entitled to them, it is our ardent hope that men of learning will be raised up in every country, who will labor in preparing, where such are not yet prepared, competent Versions of these sacred books, for the use of every nation under heaven.

"4. We will correspond with such countries, as shall furnish us with copies of the Holy Scriptures for distribution; and we will use our exertions to distribute them, in every place, to which our influence may extend. The Reverend Mr. Fisk, who is recommended to us by letters and by his christian labors, will have under his charge, and will render an account of the manner of distributing, the scriptures, which we shall thus receive."

Of these Articles, the FIRST was designed to declare the duty and the right of doing good, according to our belief concerning the revealed will of God; and this in so plain and equitable a manner, as that all Christian nations should be led, at the first view of it, to countenance and favor the moving principle of the Jerusalem Bible Society. The SECOND declares what canonical books are considered to be the word of God: for if it be interesting to think, that, by means of such a society, *the Word of the Lord should again go forth from Jerusalem*, it is in a proportionate degree important, that the operations of such a body should be restricted to the inspired writings: for this principle, it is to be feared that the Oriental churches are not, in their feelings, as yet sufficiently prepared: it appeared to us in a very high degree desirable, that London, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg should be moved upon this subject; and I know not what measure would be more advisable than the publication, in various languages, of the work of Bishop Cosin alluded to by Leslie: there is reason to believe, also, that the Protestant churches on the continent are not adequately inter-

ested in this principle of Bible Societies. The THIRD Article relates to the necessity of having scriptural Versions in vernacular languages. The FOURTH lays the foundation of actual labors, in such manner as the existing circumstances of Palestine would permit: this was virtually acted upon, when Mr. Fisk, on the receipt of several boxes of the Scriptures, established a depot in the convent of Mar Michael.

It is not all persons, in our own highly favored country, who have adopted the simple and sterling principles which are asserted by the Bible Society. Minor interests—for such, we cannot but apprehend, they will be accounted, in the great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be tried according to this gospel—have been the occasion of restraining many learned, dignified, and even pious persons from taking that eminent station in this institution, which might have contributed to carry forward the work of the Society to a rapid maturity. Can it be wondered at, then, that Rome should thunder forth her anathemas once and again; or that Constantinople should take up the theme, and unite in virtually denouncing all Bible-Society operations as heretical, or profane or seditious; or that Jerusalem, formerly the radiating centre of the world, should now be in dimness and in feebleness; while Great Britain is, in a manner, supine in this great cause?

I smile, or rather I inwardly blush, when I hear foreigners extol the liberality of our nation, which voluntarily consecrates a hundred thousand pounds to this service: because I know that the gift of a hundred thousand pounds is no measure of the wealth of my country; nor would I willingly suppose it to be such of her generosity or of her piety. Were a mine of gold to be discovered in her territories, how would the enterprising spirit of Britain shew itself! How many profound calculations, how many arduous voyages and journeys, would attest the sincere interest of *the children of this world*, who would never cease till they had brought the precious metal into currency and circulation! And such ought to be the ardor of Christians, in behalf of the Bible—a mine containing what is *more to be desired than gold, yea than much fine gold*. Yet it needs but a glance at the map of the world to see, that to multitudes, this measure is as yet but as unwrought and uncoined metal: the words are not yet translated into all the dialects of the earth: but how little would it cost, effectually to secure to Hebrew, Arabic, and Abyssinian literature, for instance, a proportion-

ate share of attention in our universities! While the enterprising personage who now rules Egypt has been, for some time, turning his arms southward, has it never occurred to the mind of any individual in England, gifted with princely wealth, that, by a spirited and judicious application of his resources, the latent and uncherished talents of many young persons in Oxford and Cambridge might be called forth, to rescue Abyssinia, and to enlighten eastern Africa?

The Author means not to disparage what has been already done: his heart is filled with gratitude to God, whenever he reflects what by his special Providence has been thus far effected; but when he calculates how much still is wanting in the work of Scriptural translations, he feels as though his country, the parent of Bible societies, and the most liberal patroness of all learning, were not as yet half roused to a sense of her resources and of her duty. How many languages in which her name is uttered with respect still remain unfixed, and even unexplored! And to those who speak them, consequently how difficult is it to declare in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God!

These are reflections which cannot fail, in time, to weigh with christian Britain. Their inevitable tendency will be, to impel her to give to her sacred foreign literature a far more extended system, than hitherto it has ever enjoyed.

TRANSLATION OF BOOKS.

The following suggestions, relative to the translation of books into the languages of the East, are made under the persuasion, that there exists a greater quantity of well-arranged and intrinsically valuable materials of knowledge in the languages of Europe, than can be found in the languages of any other similar portion of the globe; greater, perhaps, than in all the rest of the world taken together.

What subject of useful knowledge has not, during the last three centuries, been cultivated with ardor and increasing success by the European nations? Yet the results of this spirit of free and rational study have, to a very limited extent only, been transfused into the Oriental languages—into Arabic, for example, the most extensively spoken of Oriental tongues *adjacent* to the Mediterranean: while other dialects, which

will claim, in their turn, to be fixed and used as the instruments of education and instruction—those, for instance, of the northern half of Africa*—seem, as yet, to be far out of the reach of such as would assist in converting them to these purposes.

From the perusal of the author's journal in Syria, it will have appeared to the reader, that a pretty extensive acquaintance with languages is desirable, even in that sphere alone.

It were too much to say, that such a range of literary acquirement is *NECESSARY*: it would, in fact, be beyond the reach of any one individual; nay, of several individuals, dividing their studies among different languages.

The preparation of useful books in the following languages, however, is a measure which ought to be constantly kept in view and prosecuted—Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Spanish-Hebrew, Armenian, Greek, Albanian, Abyssinian.

The following arrangement of subjects, with a view to the making of a selection from the best standard works existing in European languages, may be useful to those who intend to give their attention to this department. It is, indeed, merely an outline; but the author will be happy if it should lead some person, who has more leisure and better opportunities than himself, to fill up the sketch with a judicious list of suitable works under each head.

I. *ELEMENTARY*.—This branch will include alphabets, grammars, and vocabularies. In some instances it may require much literary skill to fix a new alphabet for a hitherto-unwritten dialect. In every language, it is a matter requiring much sagacity and labour, to arrange a grammar or a vocabulary.

II. *RELIGION*.—This most important subject may be classed under the following six heads; premising, that the *HOLY SCRIPTURES*, being once faithfully translated into a language, furnish an inexhaustible store of divine instruction compared with which all human writings are as nothing.

1. The *Evidences* for the christian revelation, as contained in the Holy Scriptures—*External*: containing the historical series of facts, direct and collateral, relative to the preservation of the Scriptures in a genuine state; and a similar historical series of facts, exhibiting successively the

* For remarks on these, the reader is referred to "Christian Researches in the Mediterranean," pp. 303, 304.

The account of Mr. Greaves's visit to Tunis has also opened to our view various details, which it cannot but be considered desirable to ascertain and fix in writing.

prophecies which have been accomplished—*Internal*: containing a view of the probability that this history is true; and that a revelation, which could produce such effects on its genuine advocates in past times, and which still communicates to its true followers a peaceful and sanctifying influence, must have had a Divine origin.

It has been said, What use is there in giving to the Greek and Oriental christians arguments, in proof of a religion which they profess, and the truth of which they never doubted? The reply, so far as it respects themselves, is that, although they may be said generally to believe, and never to have doubted, the truth of christianity; yet this faith of theirs is not grounded on a knowledge of the evidences for its truth, and is therefore in the greatest danger of being at any moment shaken and subverted. That it is likely to be shaken by the introduction of general knowledge, is apparent, from this consideration. Their creed is compounded, partly of the true religion, and partly of a large proportion of traditionary superstitions; all which they believe alike, on the same insufficient ground, namely, that they received them from their immediate forefathers. They believe rather from habit than from conviction: while the absurdity of many of their fables is so evident, that, when once ill-designing and infidel men shall enter among them and disseminate doubts and dislike of their religion, their minds, unable to distinguish, will probably surrender the sound and the unsound parts of their faith together. Infidelity is a kind of wildfire; rapid and enlightening—but consuming! The difficulties of the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages will not stand in the way of infidelity; neither should they deter religious men from giving, in those languages, the fullest and best treatises upon the evidences for the christian revelation.

As it respects the Mohammedans, in the midst of whom the Oriental christians have so long lain buried in superstition and ignorance, the necessity of this measure is still more apparent. We do not expect to convince by the evidence of miracles: we must, therefore—besides giving them the knowledge of the truth, and in our lives, an example of its efficacy—establish our proofs of the christian revelation on the grounds of historical fact and moral probability. It is deeply to be lamented, that, during the long night of thick darkness which has rested upon the East, the very circumstances of the Oriental churches have been doubly

unfavorable to the extension of the christian religion. On the one hand, the bulk of those christians being ignorant and grossly superstitious, they have never been able to meet Mohammedans on the ground of scriptural and historical argument: their ecclesiastical rulers must, on the other hand, if at all enlightened, have seen that a course of sound evidence, in proof of christianity to Mohammedans, would tend to disprove and to disparage many of their own tenets and usages. This would be to their own dishonor. It would also stimulate the inquiring spirit and exercise the judgment of their dependents, in a degree beyond what is consistent with implicit faith. None know better, than a superstitious and intolerant priesthood the danger which follows on allowing to their people scope for thinking on religious, moral, and historical subjects.

Next to the critical and devout study of the Holy Scriptures, which appeal mainly to the conscience, tending to give it a temper of uprightness and love of the truth, no study more conduces to the formation and improvement of the human character, than that of historical fact and moral probability: it may be added, that, second in order to the use of the Bible, no subject is more hostile to superstition and religious errors of every kind. For the sake of the interest of truth itself, therefore; for the conservation of the genuine doctrines of christianity, whenever the fire of infidelity shall be applied to that mixture of truth and error which is professed by christians in the East; and for the sake of the propagation of the gospel on rational principles among Mohammedans and others; this subject of the EVIDENCES for christianity merits to be taken up systematically, learnedly, and comprehensively: not grudging the cost which will attend the labor of prosecuting it.*

2. *Commentaries* on the books of Scripture will be an excellent method of conveying the best religious knowledge. This is a department, however, which requires, more than any other, the assistance of that wisdom which is from above. The words of St. Paul, in 1 Cor. ii. 10—16 and iii.

* The following will serve as a specimen of the kind of evidence current in the East. It is believed by many, that the decision concerning the books of Scripture was thus made. The Christian fathers, unable in any other way to determine which were authentic and which apocryphal and spurious, laid them all together upon the altar of the church, and left them there during the night, expecting a miraculous proof from heaven. They were not disappointed: for, in the morning, they found the canonical books in good order upon the altar; while all the spurious gospels and apocryphal books were scattered about on the church floor. This story was communicated to the author by a Greek ecclesiastic at Jerusalem, who firmly believed it: very probably it may exist in print.

10—15, should impress the mind of every commentator on Scripture with the deepest awe.

3. *Catechisms*, especially scriptural catechisms, are an admirable kind of book for general distribution. There are few pious parents or children in England, but can bear testimony to the great assistance and benefit derived from this description of publications.

4. Books of a *didactic* nature, explaining the doctrines or recommending the precepts of the gospel; sermons, essays, &c.

5. *Narrative* tracts, and dialogues on religious subjects.

6. *Critical* explanations and illustrations of the sacred Scriptures.

III. *HISTORY*, ecclesiastical and profane; and biography.

1. *Ecclesiastical* history, of the best kind, is such as that of Milner; aiming to give the history, so far as it can be gathered, of the true members of the spiritual church of Christ. The learned controversies, the heresies, the contentions, the political intrigues, the cruel wars—how fearful, and yet how true to fact is this climax!—exhibited by such a work as that of Mosheim, fix on the professors of christianity a character very far from christian: the knowledge obtained from that work is highly important, but of the most painful nature.

2. *Profane* history, ancient and modern, furnishes much instructive matter. The principle on which Rollin's Ancient History is written, that of blending with facts a view of the accomplishment of prophecies, and illustrating the constant government of God in the affairs of nations, is one most worthy to be adopted. Without some such leading principle in the mind, it would be painful, without being profitable, to read the history of mankind, in which crimes and miseries constitute the largest proportion of the story.

3. *Biography*; ever the most generally interesting branch of reading, would furnish a great variety of matter. For translation into the Oriental languages, that kind of biography should be selected, which tends to illustrate character and principles; avoiding such parts as refer to peculiar modes of life or forms of society, which could not be made intelligible to foreign readers. The most beautiful specimen extant in the English language of this kind of writing, the *Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson*, by Isaac Walton, would for the most part be incomprehensible in an Arabic version; but from Fox's History of the

Martyrs, from the account of the deaths of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, much might be selected, which would touch the best feelings of the heart in every clime. A well-prepared account of the Life and Opinions of St. Augustine would also be a valuable piece of biography for these parts.

4. *Geography* and *Chronology* would be requisite to the elucidation of history; and books upon geography, more especially, would give opportunity for introducing much entertaining and profitable matter, relative to the natural productions, remarkable curiosities, &c. of different kingdoms. The customs, especially the religious customs, of different countries might be so described and delineated, as to answer important Christian purposes; exhibiting, in a judicious and compassionate manner, the wanderings and delusions of nations unblest with the light of the gospel. The articles under the head of "Miscellanies," which are given in some of the numbers of the *Missionary Register*, furnish a good specimen of the thing intended.

Several other branches of useful knowledge might be enumerated; but those which have been specified seem to comprehend nearly every thing that can possibly claim the attention of a missionary. His calling is one which must necessarily limit his pursuits to such subjects as have a religious bearing. It has, indeed, in later times, been attempted to render matters of Science—for example, Chemistry, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Astronomy, &c.—popular and familiar to all classes in England, by means of scientific catechisms. Whether this will tend to the real augmentation of science in our own country is a question which probably will not admit of a solution, till at least one generation shall have tried the experiment. The translation, however, of such books into foreign languages may safely be left to secular persons: for wherever civilization shall have so far advanced, as to create a demand for this kind of knowledge, there will not be wanting men ready to engage in supplying it.

IMAGE-WORSHIP, AND INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

Is not that man, think you, unwise, that will run for water to a little brook, when he may as well go to the head-spring?

Even so may his wisdom be justly suspected, that will flee unto Saints in time of necessity, when he may, boldly and without fear, declare his grief and direct his prayer unto the Lord himself.—Homily of the Church of England concerning Prayer.

Shall God's Word—by God commanded to be read unto all, and known of all—for danger of heresy, as they say, be shut up? And idols and images, notwithstanding they be forbidden by God, and notwithstanding the danger of idolatry by them, shall they yet be set up, suffered and maintained, in churches and temples? O worldly and fleshly wisdom! ever bent to maintain the inventions and traditions of men, by carnal reason; and, by the same, to disannul or deface the holy ordinances, laws, and honor of the eternal God!—Homily of the Church of England against peril of idolatry.

THE invention of other mediators between God and man, than Christ Jesus; to be invoked, consequently, by prayer—and the attempt to conduct religious worship with the help of graven images, or likenesses, or reliques—these are two of the greatest errors, by which professing christians have defaced the gospel, and dishonored the God revealed to us in the Bible. They are combined and interwoven with all the religious notions and offices of the Romish and Oriental churches; while this multiplication of mediators is an outrage to the doctrine of the all-sufficient mediation of Christ, as presumptuous as pagan polytheism is to the doctrine of the unity of God.

To exemplify this statement, it would be sufficient to turn to ecclesiastical history, that part especially which refers to the eighth century; or to quote the various liturgical books of Rome and the East; or actually to visit their churches, and observe the ceremonies of these denominations of Christians.

In the following pages, a selection is made from various authentic documents, which may serve to illustrate the character and tendencies of these two-fold kind of idolatry; a superstition, in which both the OBJECT and the MEANS of devotion are of human invention, and alike opposed to the tenor of the revealed will of God.

An image or picture of the virgin Mary is set up, in a church, in the corner of a street, in a private room, or before the eyes of a sick or dying man: or, perhaps, it is carried in procession, gorgeously arrayed; while the gazing

multitude, with uncovered head and bended knee, cry in prayer, "mother of God, hear us!—mother of God, pray for us!" This instance is adduced, as illustrating the complex act of idolatry hereby performed; a person, not the proper object of prayer, is invoked; and the spirit of devotion towards her is stimulated, by the exhibition of pomp suited to gratify *the lust of the eye*. This kind of idolatrous display is very general in the Mediterranean*; not less general, probably, than the reading of the Bible is in England!

Not unfrequently, this image of the virgin Mary is represented as bearing in its arms an image of the child Jesus. That the name of Jesus should be invoked, is scriptural; but, to mingle with our prayers to Him the admiration of His image, bowing down to it, or doing honor to it, is idolatrous. In this act, the idolatry is single; whereas in the adoration of the image of the virgin it is twofold.

These two subjects are discussed with the greatest perspicuity and with unanswerable arguments, in two separate Homilies of the church of England: the one entitled, "Concerning prayer;" the other, "Against peril of idolatry." In these discourses it is clearly established, that both these errors are repugnant as well to the sense of Scripture as to that also of the primitive Christian fathers.

It were vain to attempt adding any thing to the matter of these two Homilies. Superfluous, however, it will not be, to impress on the English reader, in the present day, the great danger of departing from the purity of the Scriptures, and of falling into the corruptions of idolatry.

The first document which we shall quote illustrative of this subject, is one which is regarded by corrupt churches as authoritative, in establishing not so much the lawfulness as the duty of the use of images. It is the decree of the Seventh General Council.

*Definitio Sanctæ Magnæ et Universalis in Nicæa Synodi
Secundæ.*

After having made various introductory remarks, and repeated the first Nicene Creed, and recapitulated the condemnation of different heresies by previous Councils, their definition of faith proceeds thus:—

"We define, with all accuracy and care, that the venerable and holy images, fitly prepared with colors and in-

* The author is here speaking from pretty extensive means of observation in Malta, the Ionian Islands, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Syria.

laying or any other matter, according to the fashion and form of the venerable and life-giving cross, are to be dedicated and placed and kept in the sacred temples of God; on sacred vessels and garments also, on walls and tables, in private houses, and in public ways; but, chiefly, the image of the Lord and God our Saviour Jesus Christ; next, that of our unspotted lady, the mother of God; those of the venerable angels, and of all holy men. For, as often as these painted images are looked at, they who contemplate them are excited to the memory and recollection and love of the prototypes, and may offer to them salutation and an honorary adoration: not that which, according to our faith, is true worship (*λατρεία*), and which pertains to the divine nature alone; but in like manner as we reverently approach the type of the venerable and life-giving cross, and the holy gospels, and the other sacred things, with oblations of censers and lighted tapers, according as this custom was piously established by the ancients. For the honor done to the image redounds to the prototype; and he who adores the image, adores in it likewise the subject described.”—*Labœi Concilia*, Tom. VIII. Col. 1206 & 1526.

To these declarations are appended the signatures of the bishops and others: the first two are the signatures of two presbyters of pope Hadrian, acting as his vicegerents: the third is the signature of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople: the fourth is that of the patriarch’s assessor, “acting,” as he says, “on behalf of the three apostolical thrones of the East, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.” Then follow the signatures of the remaining bishops, each one signing himself *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, or *ἐπισκοπος*, or *ἐκκlesiάρχης*: then follows a series of reiterated anathemas.

All that can be urged in favor of the honoring and adoring of images will be found in the copious collection of Papal, Patriarchal, Episcopal, and other letters, decrees, dialogues, dissertations, &c. from col. 645 to col. 1600, being 478 very closely printed folio pages, in the volume just quoted—far more than most Europeans, in the present age, would endure to read on this subject; yet all too few to blot out this one argument on the opposite side, THE LORD THY GOD IS A JEALOUS GOD. This counter-argument, however, they have taken good heed to dispose of, by throwing the second commandment out of all their catechisms!

From col. 1043 to col. 1194, is contained the “definition” AGAINST image-worship; set forth by Gregory, bishop of

Neo-Cæsarea, and 338 other bishops, in that Council, which the upholders of image-worship call "the false Seventh Council." With it is interwoven a refutation by the deacon, John. In these 76 pages, the whole conflict may be seen conducted, as it were, by single combat. The language of the refutation is not remarkable, in some passages, for its courtesy.

Labbæus states the number assembled in the Second Council of Nice to be 350 bishops, many archimandrites, very many monks, and some senators sent by the emperor; all under the presidency of these four dignitaries—the patriarch of Constantinople, two representatives of the pope, and the patriarch's assessor. (*Vol. VIII. col. 650.*) This Council assembled A. D. 787. It is the last of those in which Constantinople and Rome united; and constitutes what both agree to call a General Council.

"I am anxiously looking," remarks our great ecclesiastical historian, Milner, "for the features of the church of Christ in this very gloomy period; and seem to think that her existence was most probably to be found in the churches lately planted, or in those which were then in an infant state. Our own island (Great Britain) was decidedly at that time against idolatry. The British church execrated the Second Council of Nice, and some even of the Italian bishops protested against the growing evil. Nor is it probable that the churches of Germany, now forming, were at all disposed to receive it . . . France itself had, as yet, shown no disposition positively in favor of idolatry—*Century viii. Chap. 3. Vol. III. p. 122, Boston Edition.*

Seven years after this first public and glaring establishment of the doctrine of image-worship, both the doctrine and the Council which established it were condemned by a Council held at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, consisting of 300 bishops. Thus, within the compass of forty years, three Councils were held, each consisting of 300 bishops or upward; of which, two condemned, while only one decreed, image-worship. This one, however, having papal and patriarchal sanction, is called, a General Council. Such is the influence of authoritative names to beguile simple minds, unfurnished with the knowledge of Scripture. Certainly, if the children of professing Christians, in Roman-Catholic and Eastern countries, were taught to repeat the second commandment, their unsophisticated minds would inquisitively turn to the images and pictures by which they

are surrounded; and they would ask, "If we are Christians, how can these things be?" Nor would all the imposing arts of ecclesiastical domination be able to extinguish this divine spark of conscientiousness. It would not require the arm of an Iconoclast: the lips of babes and sucklings would suffice to demolish image-worship.

Agreeably to the decrees of the Seventh Council, every bishop of the Greek church makes a formal declaration of his belief in the lawfulness of image-worship. In the last of the three confessions which he repeats with a loud voice at his consecration*, are these words—"I adore, relatively, but not as worshipping," *σχῆτικῶς ἄλλ' οὐ λατρευτικῶς*, "the divine and venerable images; those also of Christ, and of the most holy mother of God, and of all the saints: and the honor, which I pay to these images, I transfer to the prototypes.

The Council of Trent has rivetted the doctrine of image-worship so fast on the Romish church, that it is impossible for that church to return to the simplicity of the gospel, without formally abjuring the acts of the Council. The doctrines of the meritorious intercession of the virgin Mary and of the saints, and their tutelar influences over persons and places, are likewise more explicitly established by that Council, than had been done before; although the spirit of dependence on these false mediators had long since prevailed in the churches both of the east and the west. Most deeply, indeed, is it to be lamented, that, by every genuine Romanist, the acts of that Council are regarded as dictated by the Holy Spirit, no less than the Bible itself.

The substance of the decrees of that Council, on this and on all other religious subjects, is concentrated in the form of an oath, set forth by pope Pius IVth.; to which all beneficed persons, not only of the ecclesiastical but even of the military orders, [*regularium quorumcunque ordinum, etiam militarium,*] are required to swear†.

* See in the Euchologion, Τάξις ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ Ἐπισκόπου.

† The document above mentioned is here subjoined. It contains an epitome of the Roman faith, in the form of an oath. After reciting the apostle's creed and avowing his belief of it, as a portion of the creed of the holy Roman church, the party taking the oath proceeds—

"I most firmly admit and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same church. Also, I admit sacred Scripture, according to that sense which has been held and is held by holy mother church, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the sacred Scriptures: nor will I ever receive or interpret it (Scripture) except according to the unanimous consent of the fathers. I also profess that there are truly and properly *seven* sacraments of the new law, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary, *not* for each singly, yet for the whole human race; viz. baptism, confirmation,

Intimately allied to these idolatries is the custom of performing pilgrimages to Jerusalem and other holy places, under the notion of acquiring merit and doing honor to God*. When the author visited Greece, some years ago, he purchased a small quarto volume, in Greek, entitled, "A Manual, concerning the superlative excellence of the holy city Jerusalem, and the holy and life-giving sepulchre of our Lord . . . of giving alms to it . . . and the benefit of worshipping there;" by Chrysanthus, patriarch of Jerusalem. It purports to be "printed in the Holy City, in the year 1728, in the month of September, to be distributed gratuitously for the benefit of the holy sepulchre†." It consists of upward of 63 pages, treating on the subjects proposed. These are followed by a solemn circular letter

the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony: and that they confer grace: and that of these, baptism, confirmation, and orders cannot be reiterated without sacrilege: I also receive and admit the received and approved rights of the Catholic church, in the solemn administration of all the above-mentioned sacraments. I embrace and receive all and each of those things, which, in the holy Council of Trent, have been defined and declared concerning original sin and justification. I, in like manner, profess that in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitious sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that, in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made the change of the whole substance of the bread into the body and the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which change the Catholic church calls transubstantiation: I confess, also, that, under each kind alone, the whole and entire Christ and the true sacrament is taken. I firmly hold that there is a purgatory; and that the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful. Also, that the saints reigning together with Christ are to be venerated and invoked, and that they offer prayers to God for us; and that their reliques are to be venerated. I most firmly assert that the images of Christ and of the mother of God, ever virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be held and retained, and a due honor and veneration is to be granted them. I affirm also that the power of indulgencies was left by Christ in his church, and that the use of them is highly salutary to the christian people. I acknowledge the holy Catholic and apostolical Romish church, to be mother and mistress of all churches; and I pledge and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, successor of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ. Also all other things, handed down, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and chiefly by the most holy council of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and profess: and, at the same time, all things contrary, and all heresies whatsoever condemned, rejected, and anathematized, I, in like manner, condemn, reject, and anathematize. And this true Catholic faith, out of which no one can have salvation, which at present I voluntarily profess and truly hold, I the said A.B. pledge, vow, and swear that I will hold and confess the same intire and inviolate to the last breath of my life, most constantly, God being my helper: and that I will take care as far as lies in me, that the same shall be held, taught, and preached by my subjects, or by those the care of whom pertains to me by my office. So God help me and these holy gospels of God."

The connexion between idolatry and pilgrimages is well set forth, in a single sentence of one of the Homilies of the church of England—a sentence, in which, if critical neatness be not found, yet every sensible reader must admire the busy, thick-set accumulation of facts and feelings; giving, in few lines, more matter of thought, than many modern pages are wont to furnish. "Yea, and furthermore, the madness of all men professing the religion of Christ, now by the space of a sort of hundred years, and yet even in our own time in so great light of the gospel—very many running on heaps, by sea and land, to the great loss of their time; expence, and waste of their goods; destitution of their wives, children and families; and danger of their own bodies and lives, to Compostella, Rome, Jerusalem, and other far countries, to visit dumb and dead stocks and stones."

† Τυπωθῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀγίᾳ Πόλει· ἐν ᾧ ἔτι αὐτῇ κατὰ μῆνα Σεπτεμβρίου. Παράχρησται δαρεῖν ἐκ μέρους τοῦ Παντοκράτου Τάφου. We are not aware of any Printing-Press at present existing in Jerusalem.

from Pœsius, patriarch of Constantinople, in aid of the holy sepulchre; printed in Greek, Wallachian, and Slavonian.

- The following extracts from the work will serve to convey to the reader some idea of the genuine tendency of superstition, in debasing the temper, and style, both of those who rule and of those who serve.

The patriarch of Jerusalem, on enumerating the various holy places, objects of veneration at Jerusalem, commences with the following attack upon the opinions of the reformed churches:—

“The wicked man, says the sacred Scripture, falling into the gulph of sin, becomes a scorner; being darkened, and having his mind and conscience defiled. Such are certain new heretics, sprung up in the West; opposing themselves among other things to the reverence and worship of the holy places of our Saviour. But, let false prophets arise, let heretics appear, let schismatics spring up, let them promise heaven to their followers, let them threaten eternal punishments to those who do not follow them, let them boast themselves to be angels from heaven, let them work signs and powers, let all the world follow them, let some of them blaspheme the faith and others the traditions of the universal church of Christ, let them revile the ecclesiastical ministers and servants of Christ, let the earth be shaken, let the sea roar, let the heavens fall, let these and all other things like them happen; but let the word of God stand, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures and in the sacred fathers. Wisdom shall be justified of her children. Let the nations worship each one the God that it has chosen for itself; and let the heretics blaspheme holy persons and holy things; but we, with the holy church of Christ, worship and serve the one and only true God, the holy and consubstantial Trinity. We adore, that is, we honor the saints, and the likenesses [*εικόνες*] of the saints. We adore, that is, we honor, the honorable cross, the wood of the honorable cross, the honorable and life-giving sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, the holy Golgotha, the holy place of crucifixion, the holy grotto of the incarnation of our Lord, the foot-step of our Saviour on the Mount of Olives, the holy sepulchre of the mother of God in Gethsemane, and the other holy places of our Saviour, in such manner as our fathers, from the time of the holy apostles till now, have adored and honored them. And those who reject this honor, teaching contrary to the ecclesiastical tradition, per-

verting the holy Scriptures and torturing them according to their own fancy, we, with the Seventh Council, anathematize and excommunicate.”

In a preceding extract from the creed of this Council, we have noticed the manner in which that assembly concluded their session, with loud anathemas of all their opposers: the sense of this curse is, however, in the following document of the patriarch of Constantinople, expanded into detail truly terrific—a most surprising contrast to the temper with which an apostle used the painful authority of excommunication. (See 1 Cor. v. 1—5. and 2 Cor. ii. 4—11.)

The patriarch, having enlarged on the duty and benefit of pilgrimages, concludes with the following denunciation:—

“But what Christians soever, whether priests, or laymen, or spiritual fathers devoted to the single and monastic life, being stirred up by irreverence and want of faith or covetousness and love of filthy lucre, or subverted by the devil who envies good and profitable works, shall, by vain, frivolous, and cold speeches, or by any other method of satanic deceit, hinder or turn aside Christians from going to the worship of the holy sepulchre, and giving to it alms and oblations, and shall thus become the cause of their sin and spiritual hurt, and shall occasion to the holy sepulchre the privation of the alms of Christian worshippers—such, if they cease not henceforth from this their satanic and destructive irreverence, unbelief, and error, let them be separated from the Lord God Almighty, and cursed, and without forgiveness; and, after death, not loosed: stones and iron shall be loosed, but they never. Let them inherit the leprosy of Gehazi and the halter of Judas! Let them be groaning and trembling upon the earth, like Cain! Let the earth open and swallow them up, like Dathan and Abiram! Let their portion be with the traitor Judas, and the impious Jews who crucified the Lord of life and glory! Let the wrath of God be upon their heads, their works, and their possessions! Let their labor and sweat be for utter vanity and destruction; and let them never see prosperity in all the toil of their lives! Let them receive the curses of the three hundred and eighteen* holy and divine fathers in the council of Nice, and those of the other holy synods; and let them be under the judgment of eternal fire, and victims of never-ending torment! But do ye all do according as we

* Probably an error in the printing: the number was greater than 318.

write; dutifully obeying this our paternal and synodical exhortation and admonition, as natural and grateful children of your spiritual mother, the great and holy church of Christ, that the grace and infinite mercy of God and the prayer and blessing of our lowliness may be with you all.

"In the month of August, 1727."

The document is further signed by fifteen bishops.

Many more passages, sufficient to fill several folio volumes, might, with ease, be collected, to prove how numerous are the churches—from Petersburg to Gondar, from Madrid to Pekin—which have for centuries, been filled with these idolatries. But the reader, satiated with this painful subject, will certainly desire no more, after having perused the following extract from a very popular Greek preacher, bishop Miniati. His sermons, preached about a century ago, are still esteemed for their eloquence and unction. Some parts of them, indeed, are most admirable; especially his touching discourse on the passion of Christ: but the following passage will sufficiently prove to what lengths men will go, when once bewitched with the sorcery of idolatrous passions:—

"Is it not true, Christians! that we sin daily, hourly, every moment? Let the conscience of each one bear witness. Wo to us! by how many kinds of sin is our life polluted! It seems to be little better than one continuous, uninterrupted chain of heavy transgressions. How much impurity in our thoughts, what foulness of speech upon our tongue, how many iniquities in our conduct, does the Son of God see!—sees, yet forbears, because He is long suffering. But when we, with vile ingratitude, unrepenting, uncorrected, and resolved upon evil courses, provoke to the uttermost the divine anger, and kindle His righteous vengeance, He then endures no longer; but armed with the sword, and the bow of His tremendous and intolerable wrath, like a terrible warrior, He attacks us, and threatens our utter ruin, death, and eternal punishment. . . . From this fury and anger of the Son of God, whither shall we, miserable sinners, flee? We have no other hope than in repenting, and falling at the feet of our merciful God; and, to this end, availing ourselves of the mediation of the priests, here in the church below, and of the saints exalted to Paradise. And consider, moreover, how all the monks, and priests, and bishops, and patriarchs, unite in offering up supplications and prayers: chiefly, how all the saints of Paradise, the whole quire of prophets and

apostles, all the multitude of martyrs, and hermits, and virgins, all the ranks of the blessed angels, falling before the throne of the divine majesty, implore pity and pardon for us! More than all these united intercessions of the church below and that above avails one single word of the mother of God! Ah! when that fearful Judge turns and sees the imploring countenance of his mother, that most holy, most sweet mother, immediately he becomes gentle, and meek, and pacified—immediately he parts with the sword and bow of divine wrath—immediately he vouchsafes us reconciliation and love—immediately he bestows on us the desired pardon! . . .

“He, who does not honor and revere his own mother, is not worthy to be called a man! He, who does not honor and revere the mother of God, is not worthy to be called a Christian! Who can boast himself a faithful servant of Jesus, if he be not a faithful servant of Mary? or how shall he reverence the Son, who does not reverence the mother? Ah! into whatever other irreverence it may be my misfortune to fall, may I never lose my reverence for the virgin Mary! In whatever disaster, bodily or spiritual, I may be found, to her will I flee, sure of obtaining cure for my sicknesses, consolation in my sorrows, and pardon for my sins! Even in the depths of hell, I hope for salvation from the queen of heaven! I fear not to be lost when taking refuge in her arms! Then only, when I lose my reverence for the Virgin, am I a lost soul!” *Miniati's Greek Sermons, edit. of Venice, A. D. 1805. p. 307, et. seq.*

A feeling of duty to three classes of persons has led the Author to regard the notice of this subject as peculiarly opportune and necessary.

1. The first class is, HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Great Britain has entered the Mediterranean—not merely as in former times, with her fleets and armies for a season; but—with her permanent civil power, governing and protecting Malta and the Ionian Islands. This circumstance brings Englishmen into nearer contact with those corruptions of Christianity, which three centuries ago, prevailed in England; but which, in various churches of the Mediterranean and of the Levant, remain to this day precisely as described in the homily of our church against idolatry.

The first impression made on most of his countrymen by the sight of these papal and Oriental pageants, the author can testify, has been that of unqualified astonishment and

disapprobation. They had not conceived it possible for professing christians to carry their imitation of paganism so far. By use however this feeling wears off: expressions of compassion succeed to those of abhorrence; till, at length, even persons otherwise respectable and decorous have been induced to assist and participate in rites and ceremonies, most detrimental to the purity of the gospel. Thus it is that—

we first endure—then pity—then embrace!

“But are Englishmen in danger of becoming idolaters?”—we reply: they are near the temptation; and, if they are not restrained by a religious principle, no power on earth can rescue them. Strong sense, good education, and national character, are no securities whatever to the virtue of those who shall venture upon forbidden ground.

There is, in truth, a leaning in man's nature to idolatry: there is a passion for all its follies—its festiveness, its music, odors, and splendors, fascinating each sense—a fond pleasure, too, in the thought of having many deities, or at least heavenly patrons, guardian angels, and tutelar saints, whom, as it was our own fancy which elected them to that office, our imagination represents as being compliant to our humor, and tenderly indulgent to our frailties. The great doctrines of revelation—the gracious offices of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—are not so congenial to our nature as the fictions of men. Neither is spirituality the natural bias of the heart: and hence our proneness, in every age, to materialize religion; to uphold the form of godliness, while denying or manifesting indifference to, the power thereof.

It is by many supposed that idolatry is the religion of the weak and ignorant alone: but this is false. It is a principle as clearly established by history as any other, that idolatry has power to infatuate the wisest. Where it does not overpower their judgment, yet it befools, it captivates the passions, stifles conscience, and completely takes possession of the heart. What is then left for God?

It is not, therefore, for Englishmen, those especially whose children may visit these countries, to contemplate without anxiety the connexion forming between England and the Mediterranean. Our children may live to see the day, if we do not, when idolatry and pure religion shall come to the height of their conflict, antecedent to the triumph of the gospel, in these vast regions. Where the British name will

appear in that—as yet unwritten—page of universal history, is a question mainly depending on the character of the present generation.

2. But there is a duty owing—and a very important duty it is—to the PEOPLE WHO ARE LYING UNDER THE DELUSION OF THESE PSEUDO-CHRISTIAN IDOLATERS.

To pray for them, to reason with them, to abstain from participating in their sins, and to set them the higher example of pure worship and a consistent life—this, on our part, is that line of duty, to which the Romish, the Greek, and the other Oriental churches, were they sensible of their corruption, would prefer a most touching claim.

Insensible as they are of the guilt of their idolatries and desperately enamored of them, is their title to our compassion and our exertions thereby diminished? Rather, it is augmented ten-fold. But on whom does this reasonable duty devolve? Does it belong to the governments, or to the churches, the residents, the visitors, or the missionaries, who may come in contact with these superstitions? The question rather is, which of all these is exempt? Surely none of them. The grand consideration, never to be lost sight of, is the real sinfulness of these antichristian superstitions! To rebuke them as most pernicious absurdities, to prove their inexpediency, or to ridicule their folly, will have little weight. They are sins; and, as such, offensive to him, who has declared himself a jealous God. For the proof of this, the reader need only be referred to the second commandment; or to the parting counsel of the last of the Apostles—*Keep yourselves from idols*. And if it should be rejoined, how is it possible that so large a portion of the professing christian church should have fallen into so gross a contradiction of Scripture?—the reply is obvious, that the mass of christendom has been for ages debarred the use of the Scriptures.

3. The remaining class, on whose behalf these remarks are made, comprises a great multitude of persons, for whom not Britain only, but many other nations, have latterly demonstrated a truly christian regard. I mean the unenlightened JEWS and MOHAMMEDANS.

For the purpose of making the Gospel known to the Jews, there already exist various societies: with regard to the Mohammedans, general Missionaries have been considered—although, perhaps, not with a sufficiently pointed designation—as intended for them. The approach to both these

will be, in great measure, by the Mediterranean: but here it is that we find christianity mainly corrupted. "And truth it is"—as the venerable founders of our church have powerfully and almost prophetically remarked (*Homily against peril of idolatry: part 3*) in a spirit of enlarged charity and judgment, worthy of the best missionary age—"truth it is, that the Jews and Turks, who abhor images and idols, as directly forbidden by God's Holy Word, will never come to the truth of our religion, whilst the stumbling-blocks of images remain among us, and lie in their way." By no other means, in fact, can a Protestant expect to obtain a hearing with a Jew or Mohammedan, than by the distinct avowal, that these idolatrous corruptions are not only no part of christianity, but utterly contrary to it.

The controversy relative to the worship of images and saints is one peculiarly tending to agitate the most violent passions of mankind: it has therefore been the desire of the author: while not concealing truth, yet to speak with that temper, which reason and charity demand. It is his earnest prayer to God, that, as this is a point which will probably never be suffered to rest, till the purity of Christ's kingdom shall have been established in the earth, so all the friends of that kingdom may have grace given them to confront and expose the delusions of the powers of darkness with courage, and, at the same time, *with meekness of wisdom*.

THE JEWS.

A MISSIONARY to the Jews has substantially the same work to do, as a missionary to any other body of men; namely, to preach to them the great doctrine, that *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself*. The sole difference between the case of the Jews and that of any other body of men, (a heathen nation for example,) is, that we find the Jews in a different stage of opinion. The main point to be aimed at, in preaching to the one and to the other, is precisely the same: it is, to bring them to receive *Christ as the power of God, and the wisdom of God*.

The very state of opinion among the Jews creates, however a peculiar additional necessity for placing this doctrine and this object in the very clearest light. The actual civil condition of this people, their habits of thinking their expectations and their prospects have, all of them, a tendency to draw away their minds from the essential doctrine of Christ crucified. It is scarcely possible to meet them in argument on their own ground, without obscuring the glory of the Gospel. This shall be illustrated in two important scriptural subjects; with regard to both of which it will be seen how widely the thoughts of the Jewish people have ever revolted, and still revolt, from that, which to believe is necessary to their entering the gate of the christian dispensation.

1. THE MESSIAH, PROPHESED OF IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, WAS TO BE A DIVINE, YET SUFFERING PERSON. This is the well-established opinion of christians: on the contrary, the Jews, in their apprehensions of the Messiah, neither rise so high as to believe him divine, nor descend so low as to expect that he should suffer. They look for a king, earthly, yet glorious, perfectly holy yet human; who is to reign triumphantly over the whole earth. It is not merely that they do not apprehend in what manner glory and suffering may be compatible; but they have not learnt, from their own Scriptures, that the character of the Messiah foretold by the prophets is the character of a *man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief*, despised, rejected, and put to death. *Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?*—is an argument, which they would meet with a direct negative: they see not that his humiliation was to lead to his exaltation: the veil is upon their hearts while they read Moses, and David, and Isaiah, and Daniel, and the other prophets who distinctly foretel the lowly state of the Messiah. Hence, when we preach Christ crucified, He is to the Jews a stumbling-block. But may ministers of the Gospel endeavor to remove that stumbling block, by exhibiting exclusively, or even primarily, an animating view of Christ reigning gloriously upon earth, as he will do, when a voice from heaven shall declare, *The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord, and of His Christ?* The attempt would be as fallacious, as it would be unscriptural. The offence of the cross must not, because it is offensive, be therefore disguised. The Gentile is to be humbled: the Jew is to be humbled: both must learn to

glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. The true doctrine of the cross is, therefore, to be made the most prominent of all: till that is received, nothing is savingly received; nor can it be admitted, till every high imagination be cast down.

2. That Jesus of Nazareth is, in fact, the only Messiah; that being already come, he has wrought out man's redemption; and consequently, that THE JEWS HAVE BEEN SUFFERING NOW THESE EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS A SPECIAL PUNISHMENT ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR REJECTION AND MURDER OF THIS MESSENGER OF THE EVERLASTING COVENANT OF PEACE—these are topics which must come home, with the greatest poignancy, to the conscience of a Jew, in order to his real conversion. *They shall look upon Him whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for Him as one mourneth for his only son; and shall be in bitterness for Him as one that is in bitterness for his first-born.* No less than the tenderest imaginable sorrow and anguish will penetrate the soul of a Jew, in whom national feelings and christian relentings shall have their proper force. Every one is led to expect that a brokenness of heart, a love to Christ, an adoring gratitude, a devotedness to his service, at the hazard, or even the certainty of losing all things for Him—emotions not differing in kind from those which pious christians experience, but surpassing them wonderfully in degree—will, in the general accomplishment of prophecy, characterize the truly converted Jew. From this, however, the spirit of that people at present revolts. They are as far from the doctrine of genuine repentance, as they are from that of the atonement.

The feelings of many devout christians are, in the present day, wound up to the highest pitch in favor of the Jews. Prophecy is explored—history is carefully collated—conjecture catches at every probability—and even the sagacity of the politicians of this world is challenged to discern *the signs of the times*, and to sympathize with the *earnest expectation* of the friends of this people. All sincere christians must surely rejoice at witnessing this excitement. Without great excitement, nothing great was ever done, or even attempted. But, in proportion to the force of this impulse, is the necessity of its receiving a wise and scriptural direction. We would not presume to criticise either prophecy or the interpretations of prophecy: but we would ask, what was it that distinguished the character of the apostles and of St. Paul, *who were* all of them converted Jews? was it not a feeling

of—one might almost say—inconceivable adoration at the view of this great mystery, GOD MANIFEST IN THE FLESH? Even when the case of the Jews is the particular subject of their consideration, (as in Rom. ix. x. and xi.) do they not turn every thing to this sole end of the law? Whenever the doctrine of the incarnate Redeemer comes before them, they seem to be filled with a divine fulness, which can find no utterance. Or, rather, the doctrine is not accidentally or occasionally brought to their minds: they know nothing else—they determine to know nothing else—save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.

If, then, in the various discussions and treatises to which the subject of the conversion of the Jews gives rise, any thing else than this which the apostles held forth in their discourses and writings should usurp the attention of the public mind, it seems to be the duty of christian ministers, not merely to disavow it, but to protest against it. No private interpretations should be suffered, for a moment, to come into competition with the broad and obvious meaning of that Gospel, which testifies to Jew and Gentile *repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*. No vision of millennial glory must ever interfere to hide from the eye of faith that innumerable company, whose eternal and ever-new song is, *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain!* Every thing, which is not in accordance with this strain, should be viewed with jealousy, as savoring not of the things of God, but of those of man.

In what regards the restoration of the Jews to the land of their fathers, it is manifestly a subject in which christians, whose wisdom consists in holy fear, will desire to follow Providence, and not lead. If, on the partition or allotment of nations, the possession of a particular region were to depend on the power to purchase it, the Jews have always been sufficiently rich to buy a larger tract of land than Palestine. If their settlement in that country is to grow out of a conviction, on the part of the most influential governments, that such a measure would be politically expedient, the expediency will doubtless be made to appear by many concurring indications, which will be well understood, in their season, by christian politicians. But how much beneath the standard of right feeling in a christian public, would be such speculations on conquests, commercial contracts, or political expediency! How easily might multitudes of christians be misled on topics of this nature! That, for which the contri-

butions, the efforts, and the prayers of the religious part of mankind should be especially desired, in reference to the Jews, is no other than their spiritual conversion: here, no limit need be placed to guard the public mind against excess or error, but such as is common generally to all religious subjects.

While the residence of the Jews as a nation seems to be no proper subject for the excitement of public religious feeling, there is, nevertheless, one point in their temporal condition, which claims the strongest regard from christian benevolence. Humanity, but much more christianity, requires, on their behalf, that, in whatsoever part of the world they may be scattered, they should be protected from insult, injury, and oppression. Systematic injustice is that which they have experienced in every age; and, at various periods, in every nation, without exception. The judgment of God inflicted upon them, through the medium of natural causes, has rendered them, in the social relations, what they are. Two features of character are most apparent in their history—the madness of the oppressed, and the meanness of the oppressor; but, for these frightful characteristics, the oppressor is at least as responsible as they. It is, however, gratifying to observe, that, in the present age, distinguished by a rising detestation of every kind of slavery, the peculiar case of the Jews appears to be obtaining a proportionate share of public feeling. May these sentiments in their favor continue, and increase a thousand-fold till that time, when it shall please God to display the power of His Spirit, in gathering to gather the lost sheep of the house of Israel into the fold of our Redeemer; making them as miraculous a monument of His free mercy, as they now are of His deserved judgments!

In the mean time, let it be considered how much is gained, when one converted Jewish missionary gives his heart and life to the service of his Master, Christ. There are some circumstances in such a character, which, when fully developed, may be regarded as peculiarly conducive to his usefulness in foreign missions. The first is, that his conversion seems likely to be attended with an extraordinary degree of contrition, zeal, and affection: he, that hath had much forgiven, will love much. Another consideration is, that he has, from his very birth and by long habit, been accustomed to regard himself as without a local, national habitation of *his own*: he feels, consequently, that, although England, or

France, or Germany, or any other country, may give him the title, and in many cases the reality, of protection; yet he cannot look to Judea and say, "There is my king; there is my government; and there is my home:" thus one of the strongest ties to earth exists not in his case: in reference to all the social relations of this world, his national character, is already that of a stranger, and a wanderer, and an expectant. Such a person, under the powerful influence of divine grace, seems to be, in his outward training, better furnished for apostolic labors, than the native of any civilized and established country. Should he manifest an early disposition to visit distant lands he is not so much entangled by the tender apprehensions of the domestic circle: all his kindred are familiar with foreign life: most of them have already suffered many vicissitudes; and their unquiet thoughts, if not their pilgrim feet, have roved far and wide on the surface of the globe. Should he, in countries where the government is oppressive, meet with obstacles, indignities, or injuries, his national history, and probably his specific education, has taught him how to suffer, to evade, to surmount, or even turn to his advantage, circumstances which would throw a domesticated Englishman into despair. He enters the wide field of the world, intending to visit people of many kindreds and tribes and tongues, with the certain prospect of encountering the most untoward circumstances; but then he enters with a tact of mind, which to the Jew alone is national: his, in all its indescribable detail, is, in truth, the motto, *Vincit qui patitur*. Imagine the case, then, of a converted Jew devoted to the work of missions, and passing from land to land, and from continent to continent, on that embassy: suppose, further, the love of Christ to be deeply impressed on his heart, and his temper to remain unsettled and unattached to any spot; and we have an image before our minds of a character, perhaps more nearly apostolic, and better adapted for the founding of new churches, than could in any other situation be conceived. If there be another Paul, or Peter, or Barnabas to arise; from what country might we expect such a character, if not from that people who possess on earth no country? Waving, however, what may to some appear too much like a matter of speculation; and acknowledging, that, after all, the Great Head of the church acts herein as a Sovereign, bestowing his gifts very differently from our calculations; there is yet, in this view of Jewish character, something which conveys a most instructive lesson to every

christian missionary. He, more especially, who would undertake the office of an evangelist to the Jews, must be fully prepared to suffer the contempt of many; who will despise him, because they despise the objects of his mission. More than this: he may, in some countries, expect to share their oppressions; and, instead of having any hope of civil protection at hand, he must before God betake himself to prayer; and, like a poor man, use toward the oppressor, many entreaties and much christian persuasion. Let a missionary to the Jews settle in Jerusalem: let him take, as a model for his manner of life, that touching description of the Redeemer, *In all their affliction, he was afflicted*: let him to the Jews become as a Jew—they will then love him, for his sympathy; understand him, for his resemblance to them; and for his self-devotedness, put faith in him and in his words. To missionaries of this stamp, in fact, and to such alone, can it ever be expected that God will grant the honor of extensive success; whether it be among Jews or Gentiles, that they are sent to labor.

APPEAL FOR MORE LABORERS.

IN the Mediterranean there are not more than five or six clergyman of the United Church engaged in promoting the objects of religious societies. It may, therefore, be useful to notice, somewhat in detail, the different feelings which may probably sway the minds of some young and pious persons, and restrain them from giving themselves to the work of missions.

Some, it may be, are reluctant to resign the comforts, the quiet, and the society of their native land, for the inconveniences, the insecure or uncertain circumstances, and the limited choice of companions, incident to many foreign stations: it is also a great trial to a reflecting and feeling mind, to see that a missionary may bring his wife and children into circumstances, where there may be little society, or perhaps only evil examples all around them; and that, consequently for the purposes of education, or in cases of necessity, there may be many painful separations: others may shrink back under the apprehension of lingering sicknesses or early death. But they who have not grace to resign their attachments to home, to encounter the risk of

domestic trials, and to overcome the apprehension of disease and death, are not desirable candidates for the missionary office.

Possibly some may, either from their habits of life or from an ambitious temper, feel as though to enter into the service of a missionary society, and to toil abroad among the ignorant and the degraded, were to humble themselves too low, and to become too much the servants of others, and too little their own masters. It is manifest, that where such high imaginations reign, the heart is altogether unfit for this branch of the service of Him, *who came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.* Where, however this kind of pride is the besetting sin of a man, but is bewailed and resisted in the spirit of evangelical self-abasement and self-sacrifice, he ought not, from a consciousness of his infirmity, to stand aloof: but rather so much the more willingly, take upon himself Christ's yoke; and expect, in faith, to receive that grace which will enable him, *not to mind high things, but to condescend to men of low estate.*

Some may over-rate the difficulty of learning to speak foreign languages; or they may be disheartened by the apprehension of a long and seemingly unprofitable interval, during which they will not be able to minister to edification among those to whom they are sent: generally it is very discouraging to an adult, to find himself placed in a situation, in which there is so much preliminary work, before he can consider himself fairly engaged in his main business; and this discouragement is peculiarly felt in christian missions—a work, in its very nature, so entirely distinct from the affairs which incessantly interest the men of this world: while not a few may conceive that the apparent and immediate usefulness of their ministry in England, is greater than it would probably be in a heathen land; and it is difficult for a zealous and fervent man, to content himself with the prospect of sowing for thirty or forty years, and of then dying and leaving others to reap the harvest. If, indeed, the requisite ability for the acquisition of a new tongue be wanting, this is a sufficient indication that the post of duty is at home; and it may be hoped that the opportunities of making such trials in reference to the languages of the unchristian world, before missionaries leave their native land, may be so increased, as not only to obviate the disappointment and loss which have sometimes arisen from this discovery being

made too late, but to prepare missionaries of competent ability before they leave their own country to enter on immediate service when they reach their destination: where such ability is possessed, and the best available means of preparation are employed, all discouraging anticipations must be mastered and subdued by faith in the word of Him who hath said, *My grace is sufficient for thee.*

It may be further mentioned, that some persons—critical and speculative men, indeed, rather than devout and practical—comparing the state of things around them with that of the apostolic age, perceive in many respects so great a contrast, that they are mistrustful of a system which does not appear to be blessed with that manifest and abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit which attended the labors of the early disciples of our Lord. But sentiments like these indicate a mind seeking excuses for not entering on a decisive and resolute course of action. He, who desires to feel rightly and scripturally in reference to the subject of the propagation of the Gospel in the world, will look for motives, wisdom, encouragement, and success, not to man, but to the Great Head of the church. Our lot might have been cast in a day or in a country, which should have given us no hope whatever from the rulers of the visible church, or from any persons distinguished for their public influence; while the poorer classes, instead of being as they were in primitive times, *rich in faith*, might have been sunk in the grossest viciousness and stupidity. Between such a degraded and discouraging state and the primitive fulness of apostolical light and love, there are many gradations: in every condition, however, of the church, it should be our principle to look up to God alone for our motive and our strength. Even a single individual may confidently hope, that he may be rendered the instrument of much good, if he follow the divine guidance with simplicity and heartfelt zeal.

That it has been granted, in the present day to numbers of every rank and station, to imbibe the genuine spirit of the Gospel, is ground for adoring gratitude. Whatever, in a comparison of our own day with primitive times, may tend to discourage us, let us remember that we serve the *God of all grace*; and that as our prayers are, so will his gifts be. If we keep our eye stedfastly on Him, who has promised to be with his church alway, even unto the end of the world, *we shall have an unchangeable hope—a hope ever aspiring*

after higher things: mutual distrusts and murmurings will have no place where to stay: whatever be the state of the communion to which we belong, we shall be found aiming at a pure standard: skeptical fancies will give way before a hearty resolution to work: and He, who has afforded the encouragement, will vouchsafe also the fulfilment, of His promises; granting to the visible church an extensive revival of piety, and adding to its numbers, from every country, such as shall be saved.

Why then, do we look one on another, when the cause is that of the Gospel?—when we are called to fulfil the ministry of reconciliation, between God our Father, and a world that yet lieth in wickedness? If the apostolic age be to return, let each individual aim at the character of that age. Yet, not with a mounting spirit of vain-glory or self-confidence, let any man hear this appeal. He, who goes forth in the spirit of an apostle, will go forth meek and contrite—tender and lowly in heart—desiring more and more to *put on Christ*, and to *crucify the flesh with the affections and lusts*. Such men Christ alone can raise up; but in answer to unceasing prayer for his Holy Spirit, He can and will send forth such missionaries. We have not to fear, as though the streams of his mercy were exhaustible: we have only to fear, lest our desires should be straitened, our hope soon spent, and our faith fall short of the promises. That king of Israel, who, at the command of the prophet Elisha to smite upon the ground, *smote thrice and stayed*, is too true an emblem of our limited zeal. We pause to doubt, when we should press on to conquer.—May such reflections as these, with much study of the word of God, and fervent prayer, strengthen the hearts of all Christians—shame them for their past supineness and secularity—inspire them with new and enlarged views—and lead many, especially the younger ministers of the church of Christ, to come forth and fulfil the word of God, proclaiming the glory of the mystery of the Gospel among the Gentiles!



APPENDIX.

JOURNAL

OF A

VISIT TO SOME PARTS OF TUNIS,

By MR. JOSEPH GREAVES.

VOYAGE TO TUNIS.

Friday, Oct. 22, 1824. I left Malta for Tunis, in the brig Diligente, Capt. Antonio Capiello; having received from the Bible Society 547 copies of the Holy Scriptures or portions thereof, principally in Arabic, Italian, Greek, and Hebrew, and from the Rev. Mr. Temple 600 tracts in Greek and Italian. The sale and gratuitous distribution of these will occupy a considerable part of my time. I propose, in addition, to make a beginning in the preparation of Arabic school books; and to endeavor to obtain such general information relative to the state of the people, as may, in some degree serve as a guide to future endeavors on behalf of the numerous and long-neglected tribes of north Africa. It is a sphere of labor, which seems naturally to claim from Malta a large share of what may be furnished by her Bible, Education, and Missionary institutions.

Saturday, Oct. 23. We found ourselves this morning, about 20 miles distant from Gozo; and made but little progress during a great part of the day.

Sunday, Oct. 24. A fresh breeze springing up yesterday evening, we were, this morning, in sight of Pantilaria: the land is high, and may be seen at a considerable distance. There is a small town at the north-west end of the island: passing near the land, we had the opportunity of seeing the town, which appeared capable of containing 1,000 inhabitants, or upward. We observed also a few houses scattered among the hills. This island is a possession of the king of Naples.

ARRIVAL AT TUNIS.

The wind continuing favorable the whole day, we were at ten A. M. in sight of Cape Bon; and, entering the bay of Tunis at four in the afternoon, we came to anchor in the roads at midnight, after a pleasant passage of only 58 hours.

The crew of the *Diligente* consists of ten individuals, including the captain and clerk. None of the sailors can read: they are Neapolitans and Livornese. Being unwell during the voyage from sea-sickness, I had but few opportunities for conversation: I have found, however, as on other occasions, that whenever I speak to them religiously, all readily admit the truth of my observations, and then return to their accustomed levity and thoughtlessness.

Monday, Oct. 25, 1824. There is good anchorage in the roads of Tunis; but they are much exposed to the north-east. During a violent gale from this quarter about four years ago, several merchant vessels were driven on shore: the Bey also lost the greater part of his fleet, and nearly 2,000 seamen. We are lying in about six fathom water, with a view of Tunis, Cape Carthage, and the mountains called "del Piombo," with the island of Zimbra, and Cape Bon. At the foot of one of the hills on the opposite side of the roads to Cape Carthage, are the celebrated baths of Korbus, anciently called Carpis.

Signior Gaspari, Agent at the Goletta for several European Consuls, came along side and made various inquiries: we afterward went into the canal, and delivered our letters to the superintendent of the Health Department. The Goletta (a word signifying "the throat," in diminutive) is the channel of communication between the roads and the lake of Tunis: the canal, if distinguished from the Goletta, is an artificial continuation of this channel; and forms a small port, of about forty feet in width, and deep enough for vessels of small burden to enter with their cargoes.

Including our own, there are eight vessels lying in the roads, and three or four lying in the canal: namely, four French, one Swedish, one Maltese, and the remainder Genoese, Tuscan, and Neapolitan.

Tuesday, Oct. 26, 1824—A cold wind set in from the north-west, accompanied by a good deal of rain. We removed into the canal, to complete our quarantine of eight days: this is the shortest term to which merchant vessels are subject; Malta being placed upon the same footing as European ports. The expense of lying in the canal is a dollar or half-a-dollar a day, according to the size of the vessel. The quarantine regulations, as might be expected in a Barbary port, are not very strict; and the measure may be considered rather as designed to increase the revenue, than as proceeding from any particular regard for the public safety. Passengers are sometimes permitted to leave the vessel, and to walk along the fortifications and on the sea-shore.

There are two forts at the Goletta, and a third at the distance of a mile or less, on the neck of land which divides the sea from the lake. Those at the Goletta, judging from the number and size of the cannon, appear to me to be strong; but they are in bad repair; and many of the guns, from the decayed state of the carriages, would probably be unmanageable after the first discharge.

Toward the evening of this day, while walking the deck of the vessel, I was suddenly surprised by hearing my own language spoken. On turning round, I observed a man in the Moorish dress on the point of passing on: perceiving that he was an Englishman, I spoke to him: in answer to my inquiries, he stated that he had been in the navy, and that he had seen a good deal of service: from his mentioning Aboukir, I conclude that he was at the battle of the Nile: he had served, he said, under Sir John Moore: to my observation, that I perceived that he had denied his Saviour, he replied that hard treatment would drive a man to any thing. About this time another stepped forward, and seemed desirous of shewing that he, also, was an Englishman: he was more shabbily dressed than the other, and appeared to be in an inferior situation: he stated that he had served on board a British ship-of-war, and that he had never received a lash but once: they were here, he added, to enjoy a degree of liberty. I replied, that no one could wish to enjoy greater liberty than in England. They both said, "Yes—in England." "And on board," I continued, "no one is punished, unless for bad conduct, and after proper investigation." They said that this was not the case. I added, "Well, I am sorry to see two of my countrymen in such a situation. Recollect, however, that *Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners*, and is ready to receive all who return to Him with sincere repentance." They both said that they could read. On my asking them if they had Bibles, one replied, hastily, "No: we have not those books here," and seemed anxious to go away. I dismissed them with the observation, that we do not live only for this world; and pressed on them to remember what I had said. The one to whom I first spoke said that he was a native of Dublin: the other said that he was a native of London. Both of them gave me their former names. They are both employed in the dock-yard of the Bey.

Wednesday, Oct. 27, 1824—A sharp wind from the north-west renders it necessary to put on winter clothing.

One of the English renegadoes passed me two or three times this morning, but I had no further conversation with him. My fellow-passenger informs me, that they were both on board the Tunisine frigate "*Cavallo di Mare*," when he was visited at sea some time back; and that his papers were put into the hands of one of them for examination; that is, to say whether they were English.

Signior Gaspari came alongside, to see if we were in want of any thing; and Mr. Tulin, British Pro-Consul, has been so kind as to send his dragoman with fresh provisions and offers of services.

Thursday, Oct. 28—Three Algerine ships-of-war have come into the bay.

Our guardian informs me that he is a native of Leghorn, and that he has there a wife and three children. He cannot read himself, but says that his children go to school. He was wrecked off Bona, some time back; and is now waiting for an opportunity of returning to Italy.

The boat of the Swedish vessel lying in the roads coming into the canal, gave me an opportunity of conversing with some of the men. Their crew consists of fourteen individuals. They can all read; and have the Bible and other religious books on board, which their captain is always willing to lend them. The mate reads prayers every morning and evening. They have the Sunday to themselves; except when portions of their cargo are sent alongside, which is here sometimes the case: they are then obliged to work. I pointed out to them the advantages which they enjoy, compared with Mohammedans, who were passing and repassing; and their increased responsibility, in consequence. Among these Mohammedans were the two English renegadoes; being pointed out to me by one of the Swedes, I replied that I knew them; and added, that when a course of sin is once entered upon, no one can say to what lengths it may lead him. I concluded by reminding them that we are all sinners, and must all look to Christ for salvation.

Sent Tracts to the master of a Tuscan vessel lying near us.

A well-dressed man, whom I saw at the Health Office the day after my arrival, has occasionally bowed to me. Asking me to-day if I was an Englishman, and receiving for answer that I was, he said that he was my humble servant. On further inquiry, I find him to be a Greek; one of many others, for the most part women and children, who have been brought hither at different times: to save his life, he has embraced the Mohammedan faith.

Our guardian expressing a desire to have Tracts for the use of his children, I supplied him with a copy of several in Italian.

Friday, Oct. 29—A vessel belonging to a person in some way connected with the government having been admitted to pratique after five days' quarantine, a similar indulgence has been extended to us; but we are not to proceed to Tunis till the afternoon.

An Italian captain dined with us, who had been for fourteen years a slave in Algiers. He was set at liberty in 1816, in consequence of the treaty made by Lord Exmouth. Every caravan, he informs me, from Algiers to the interior, was accustomed, besides various merchandize, to bring slaves. They were treated, he says, "*come tanti animali*,"—like so many brutes." It was the custom to expose them for three days for examination, and then to liberate them to the highest bidder. He thinks about 300 to have been the average number sold in the course of a year. Sometimes, the owner would sell two or three of a family together: at other times, they were separated. The caravans used to arrive about three times a year. The Bey was in the habit of sending presents of all descriptions of them to

the Grand Seignior. This captain further states, that a boat containing a number of these poor creatures passed through the canal for Tunis a few days ago.

I left the *Diligente* at half-past two P. M. and proceeded to Tunis in a *Sandali*, belonging to a Genoese, who is generally employed by Europeans. These "*Sandali*" are a good-sized kind of boat, some with one and others with two lateen sails, which ply between Tunis and the *Goletta*, and are used as lighters for loading and unloading vessels. The lake is about seven miles across: the general depth of it does not, I am told, exceed three or four feet: this would appear improbable, but I can readily give credit to the statement, as the boat touched the ground (loose ground, not rock or stone) several times during the two or three tacks, which, the wind being contrary, we had to make in crossing. There is a small island, about two-thirds of the distance across; and upon it a building, which is at present used as a *Lazaretto*: the island appeared to be less than half-a-mile in circumference.

We arrived on the opposite shore a little before five; and were immediately assailed by a host of porters, quarrelling for our luggage. Their appearance was very wretched; and their importunity so great, that it would have been quite impossible not to come in contact with them—a circumstance by no means agreeable in countries subject to the plague; and avoided as much as is practicable, by many Europeans.

My trunks were opened between the *Marina*, or landing-place, and the town; but not very closely examined. A few bottles of wine were taken from me; but were returned almost immediately. On seeing a little medicine, the officers began instantly to complain of some bodily infirmity: for in *Barbary*, as in other places, the English are generally thought by the people to know something of physic.

Saturday, Oct. 30, 1824—Called on Mr. Tulin. The following notes of conversation will give a general idea of the population, and of the different classes inhabiting Tunis.

It is impossible to form a correct estimate of the population of either the city or regency of Tunis. In the country, there are many tribes which are frequently moving from one place to another. About 120,000, Mr. Tulin considers a fair computation of the population of the town and suburbs.

Of this number, there may be 30,000 Jews. The native or *Tunisine* Jews are distinguished from *Mohammedans* by their dress, not being allowed to wear the red scull-cap under the turban: it must be black, or dark blue: they are sometimes very ill-treated, but are not liable to greater exactions than the *Moors*. The European Jews wear hats, and speak chiefly Spanish or Italian: their number does not exceed 2000 at the most: they have considerable connexions in *Leghorn*. The native Jews speak the Arabic of the country, but their books are in Hebrew. There is not much cordiality between the two classes; rather, I am informed, division and animosity. A few of the *Tunisine* Jews by purchase, and others through interest, enjoy the privilege of wearing the European dress.

There is a Roman-Catholic convent and church in Tunis; and there is also a chapel in the French consulate. The Christians of this Communion are, for the most part, under the superintendence of the padre Prefetto, an aged Capuchin friar.

There are a good many Carbonari in Tunis; who have been exiled from Naples, in consequence of their political opinions, Two or three of them are priests.

The Protestant Christians are few in number. They consist of the family of the English Vice-Consul, those of the Danish, Swedish, and American Consuls, and two or three other individuals; in all, fewer than thirty souls. Some of them receive the sacrament in the Greek church; and avail themselves of the services of the Greek papas, for marriages, baptisms, and burials. There are, however, many things in the Greek church, in which a Protestant cannot unite.

There is a slave market in Tunis. Mr. Tulin states that he has seen slaves brought in by fifty or sixty at a time; he cannot say how many may arrive in the course of a year. They are brought from the interior to Gadamis, about 300 miles nearly due south of Tunis, and about 150 miles south-west-by-west of Tripoli, and from thence distributed to various places. Mentioning that a boat containing a number of slaves lately passed through the canal, Mr. Tulin replied that they were probably from Sfax or Suza.

The Moors have schools, but do not use printed books. Some of the better classes are becoming less bigotted in this respect; and a few of them have received copies of the scriptures from curiosity. "If it should be thought," Mr. Tulin adds, "that you have any intention of making them Christians, they would be very angry." I replied, that it would be a great point gained, if we could make them better men—less oppressive. Having stated that the book of Genesis had been printed, principally with a view to Mohammedans, and that the Arabic Psalter was much liked in Syria as a school-book, Mr. Tulin answered, that neither would be received into the Moorish schools. Mr. Tulin observing that he supposed Malta was by this time well supplied with the scriptures, I stated that it was not the case; the clergy of the Romish church being, for the most part, inimical to their circulation; and that the operations of the Bible Society had been principally out of Malta.

Called on captain Falbe, Danish Consul-General, and left two letters which I had brought for him from Malta. He has left his card in return.

Dined with an English merchant, who has been established here three or four years. He thinks that the population of Tunis does not exceed 70,000. A great many died of the plague, about four years since.

The summer is said to be a great deal hotter in Tunis than in Malta; particularly during the prevalence of the Siroc winds, when the heat is almost as great in the houses, as in the streets.

The gates of the town are shut a little after sun-set; and it is not customary to pass through the streets after dark without a lantern. The police is strict.

Sunday, Oct. 31, 1824—Went to the Church in the Roman-Catholic convent. It is about 40 feet long and 20 wide, and quite secluded from the street. There were about 50 persons present, chiefly females and children. The younger women were without bonnets, or any other covering on their heads; and the general appearance of their dress was such as would give a Mohammedan an unfavorable idea of the propriety of christian worship.

Called on the Greek Papas, and had a good deal of conversation with him. The Greeks amount to about 200; namely, 40 British and 160 Ottoman subjects. They are not well supplied with the Scriptures. Their church is under British protection. The English, Danish, and Swedish consuls attend on particular festivals, such as Christmas day and Easter. The Ottoman Greeks are much oppressed, and are not allowed to leave the precincts of the city. There are several women and children at Bardo, (the residence of the Bey,) who have been compelled to turn Mohammedans. Recommending strongly to the Papas, to read two or three chapters of the New Testament, in Modern Greek every Sunday in the church, he said that it was not their custom; they read the Scriptures at home. Their service is early in the morning: about 60 generally attend; some come one Sunday, and some another. The remainder of our conversation was relative to the use of images and pictures, the invocation of saints, and the mediation of the Virgin Mary, &c. He acknowledged that there was nothing of this in the Holy Scriptures; but said that the fathers had established the usage and doctrine, and that therefore it was to be presumed they had reasons for so doing.

Monday, Nov. 1, 1824—Called on our consul, and requested him to send me an Arabic master, of whom he had previously spoken.

Mr. Tulin has been so kind as to accompany me through the town. It is situated about half-a-mile from the lake. Including the suburbs, it is from four to five miles in circumference. From an unfinished palace of the Bey, I counted nineteen minarets; but the largest mosque and some minor ones are without them. Part of the town is built on rising ground; but the ascent is very gradual, and in most parts almost imperceptible. The streets are narrow, generally unpaved and very dirty. The houses are built of narrow bricks, or flat tiles, and plastered. A considerable part of the town is in a very dilapidated condition: the exterior, however, of the houses, is not a fair criterion of their internal comfort, in countries, where, as it was expressed to me, "it is a sin to be thought rich." The principal trades, such as those of shoe-makers, tailors, gunsmiths, venders of oil-of-roses, and manufacturers of the scull-cap, are carried on in Bazaars. Adjoining one of these is the slave market: it is, as near as I could judge, about 30 feet long and 20 wide: there is an elevated stage in the centre, about two feet high, with a railing round it. No slaves were exposed for sale when we visited it; but there are generally some in the market every day of the week, except Friday, which is the Mohammedan Sabbath.

The Tunisines are, at present, poor: they were much impoverished by a famine, with which the country was visited some years back, when they had to purchase corn at a very high rate.

Walking through the town, two or three Schools were pointed out to me; but the interior of them was not visible from the street. The children, I was informed, after learning the alphabet, are instructed in sentences from the Koran. Female education is totally neglected: there may, possibly, be one here and there who can read a little, but it is a very rare case. The Jews: that is the men, very generally can read Hebrew.

There being, comparatively, but few houses in Tunis which are let to christians, a family might probably have to wait a year or two, or even longer, before they could meet with one. Apartments sufficiently commodious for an individual, are occasionally to be found. It is doubtful whether a Mohammedan, under all the circumstances of the country, might be induced, by an additional rent, to let a house, not hitherto inhabited by christians, to an individual or family of that profession. Neither christians nor Jews can become proprietors, either of houses or land: it would not, therefore, be practicable to build, except by special permission. In consequence of these circumstances, the rent of houses in the christian quarter is considered dear, in proportion to the price of provisions: of these, bread, meat, and oil, are cheap. Wine is contraband, but it is imported under the name of vinegar. The pay of a day laborer employed by private persons is somewhat less than a shilling sterling: the bey, however, frequently obliges many to work for him for a less sum.

The consuls, in Tunis, are the English, Danish, Swedish, French, Neapolitan, Sardinian, Dutch, and American. The Dutch consul is also agent for some other nations. Algiers, Tripoli, and, I believe, Morocco, have also their agents.

The manufactures of Tunis are chiefly woollen: such as, shawls, cloaks, mantles, and coverlits; and are principally used by the natives and residents. The red scull-caps, it is well known, was formerly a very considerable article of exportation to the Levant: shipments are still made, but not so frequently as heretofore.

The Bey has about 10,000 troops in his pay—consisting of 4,000 Turks, or Levantines; and 6,000 Zwowahs, natives of the country, to keep the others in check, and prevent that insolence and insubordination which a feeling of superiority, unrestrained by any principle, would prompt them to manifest; threatening the Government with all the evils of a military despotism, such as actually exists in the kingdom of Algiers.

Zwowah is, I believe, the general name for Moorish soldiers: those in the service of the bey are enlisted from various mountain-tribes of North Africans.* They are entirely undisciplined; and it is not considered safe to travel, while they are abroad for the collection of the tax on the produce of the land, flocks, &c., which is particularly the case during the corn and oil seasons.

* "The Zwowah, the richest and most numerous Kabyles of this province, possess a large and impenetrable tract of mountains to the eastward of the Seboue." (*Shaw's Travels*, p. 101.) He adds also, that they have a college, and maintenance for 500 Teachers. "But Kou-kou, where their Shekh or Sultan, as they call him, resides, is their principal village." (*Ibid.*)

Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1824—A blowing, rainy day. Kept the house, and occupied myself in arranging materials for an Arabic spelling book.

The "Imperial Inn," in which I have taken a room, is far more comfortable than what I expected to find in Tunis: it has been kept by a Genoese for about twenty years, and is chiefly frequented by masters of merchant vessels: the daily expense, including breakfast, dinner, supper, and sleeping-room, is about a dollar: for another separate apartment, which cannot always be had, a small additional charge is made. There is another inn, called the "English Inn," kept also by an Italian; but the accommodations, it is said, are far inferior.

It was stated, in a conversation between two masters of European merchant-vessels, yesterday, while at dinner, that there was a good freight for Algiers. The cargo mentioned was negroes. It being replied by the captain to whom the proposal was made, that he should expose himself to risk by taking them, it was answered, that he had only to make a declaration before his consul that they were free people. It is to be hoped that the laws of European nations relative to this abominable traffic are not thus easily evaded.

Wednesday, Nov. 3. Began an Arabic Spelling-book, to comprise the following heads:—1. The Alphabet, arranged both regularly and promiscuously—2. The initial, medial, and final letters.—3. The letters which can be joined to those which precede them, but not to those that follow them—4. The vowel signs.—5. The other orthographical signs.—6. The numerals. 7. Syllables of two letters—8. Syllables composed of a consonant and a vowel sign—9. A selection of words of two, three, four, and more syllables—10. The Lord's prayer—11. The Ten Commandments—12. A selection of sentences from the book of Proverbs—13. A selection from the Psalms of David—14. A selection from the four Gospels. For the use of Mohammedans, instead of those parts which relate to our Saviour and to Christian doctrine, something else must be substituted: for example, the Fables of Lokmann, or a collection of Arabic sayings.

The Greek Papas called upon me, and remained some time. His observations and inquiries were chiefly respecting the state of affairs in Greece. Some tracts in Greek which I gave him, he promised to distribute among the members of his church.

Thursday, Nov. 4. Arabic lessons, the principal part of the day. Gave some Italian tracts to a son of the inn-keeper.

Friday, Nov. 5. Called on the Danish consul, Capt. Falbe. He is a married man, and has three children. Our conversation was chiefly on subjects connected with the distribution of the Scriptures, Missions, and Slavery. He thinks that 300 is too low an estimate of the average number of slaves annually imported into Tunis. The market opens about eight o'clock in the morning. It is a custom, on the decease of persons of rank, to grant manumission to one or more of these poor creatures: for this purpose the least serviceable are generally selected; not, it would appear, from motives of humanity, but because they are to be procured for less money.

Speaking of the Protestant christian families, captain Falbe confessed that the want of public worship is much to be lamented: it was the custom of Mrs. Falbe and himself, he stated, to have a prayer in the morning: sometimes he goes to the Catholic church: he agreed that there are many things there very disagreeable to the feelings of a Protestant, but finds that a spirit of devotion may be excited: if the several consuls, I said, would unite for social worship, a congregation of from twenty to thirty might be collected: he replied that it would be very good; but that there were differences of opinion among Protestants. Entering on the subject of education, he informed me that there is a college where Mohammedans are taught theology, and, as he had understood, a little Mathematics and Physic; but that there is nothing like general instruction: it is not open to christians. Alluding to the condition of the people, he stated that they are much oppressed; and, that being the case, they are satisfied with what is barely sufficient for their maintenance: if a Moor has a house, or is known to be accumulating a little property, he is almost sure to be molested in the enjoyment of it: the agriculturist is obliged to sell his produce to the Bey; and the price fixed is generally so low, as to leave him very little profit.

Called on the Greek priest, with some tracts for a few Greek boys, who go to him for instruction: there were ten present, partly British and partly Ottoman subjects, and from eight to thirteen years old. He immediately distributed the tracts to such as could read.

Saturday, Nov. 6, 1824. Arabic lessons the greater part of the day. In the evening, I called on Mr. Pearson. He informed me that he had distributed the principal part of the Scriptures placed at his disposal by the committee of the Bible Society in Malta.

The Jews being the managing men in almost every commercial affair, very little business is transacted on Saturday, owing to the strictness with which they observe their Sabbath. It is to be lamented, however, that, while extremely jealous of the traditions of their fathers, they pay but little regard to the weightier matters of the Law: this would seem to prove, with respect to them as well as others, that custom is stronger than any real feeling of responsibility; and that the love of forms may exist, where there is a hatred of all moral or spiritual strictness. The Sabbath of Mohammedans is Friday: they observe it much less strictly than the Jews. The Christian Sabbath, it is painful to say, is almost entirely devoted to business or pleasure: the consuls of the various christian nations do not, I believe, grant clearances to vessels, or transact other official business; but, with these exceptions, the injunction to keep the day holy is, by most professing christians, but little regarded.

Sunday, Nov. 7. Early in the morning, I attended the service of the Greek church. It lasted about an hour and a quarter; being longer than usual, in consequence of an additional service for St. Demetrius. There was no sermon. The host, or consecrated bread, was brought out by the papas, toward the close of the service, into the middle of the church: the congre-

gation immediately bowed; and held themselves in a stooping posture for about a minute. At the time of the exhibition of the host, about sixty were present; from which circumstance I should judge, that as with the Roman Catholics, this is principally considered as the essential and obligatory part of their public devotions. If the whole service, or even the Epistle and Gospel, were in a language intelligible to the people, it perhaps would not be the case that more would attend at the close than at the commencement; but being in ancient Greek, few understand it. A considerable part of the service was chaunted and read by lay assistants, and by two or three of the children whom I had seen in the school. The females were in a gallery, concealed from view by a wooden frame of trellis-work. I gave some tracts to an individual who collected the offerings of the congregation, and left a few more with the papas.

That a spirit of indifference to the sacred obligations of the Sabbath, should prevail among Protestant christians who have long been deprived of the public ordinances of religion, will not be surprising to those who have been placed in similar circumstances, even for a short time. The outward means of grace should be greatly prized, wherever they are enjoyed; for a due regard to them will be found to be one of the surest safeguards of religion, whether individual or national. It may be hoped, with respect to churches at present unenlightened by the Scriptures, that as the Bible shall be more generally read and studied, their errors in doctrine will be removed; and ministers raised up among them, who shall be as desirous of promoting the interests of true piety, as they now are of providing for attention to mere outward ceremonies.

Monday, Nov. 8, 1824. Saw the Greek priest by appointment, and gave him a note of the languages in which I have the Scriptures. He promised to send me a trust-worthy man to be employed in the sale of them.

Called on Mr. Tulin, and gave him a copy of the Gospel of St. John in Maltese, and of the "Cries of Africa," a tract on the horrors of the slave trade. We had some conversation on this subject. It is well known, that, in the last treaty made between the British and Tunisine governments, it is again stipulated, that the Bey shall make no more christian slaves. This treaty, it will be remembered, was entered into in consequence of the detention, as slaves, of about 80 Greeks, part of whom had been brought to Tunis under the British flag. If any more should come under the power of the Bey, they are to be considered as prisoners of war; and consequently, exchangeable on the termination of the present hostilities between the Turks and Greeks.

Employed a Greek recommended by Seignior Caravella; the Greek priest, to sell the Scriptures for me. He was formerly a merchant, but is now reduced to the necessity of selling tobacco at the gate of the town. A poor Italian boy also, having been recommended to me for the sale of tracts, I have let him have a number for that purpose.

Tuesday, Nov. 9. Arabic lessons, the principal part of the day. The boy employed to sell tracts has disposed of twenty,

and has brought me three piastres for them. They have, he tells me, been chiefly bought for children. The Dairyman's Daughter, and the Life of William Kelly are most liked.

Thursday, Nov. 11—A Maltese called, to inquire the price of an Italian Bible: I gave him some Tracts. There may be about twenty Maltese in Tunis; of whom one or two are shop-keepers, and the remainder chiefly such as have left the island from necessity.

A Neapolitan canonico, who had bought an Italian Bible, also came to see me. There is another priest, with about forty laymen, in the same situation as himself; exiled from their country, on account of their political principles. They are Carbonari; and receive, it is said, an allowance of ten ducats a month from the Neapolitan Government. He talks, as do many others, like one, who, having no real feelings of the value of the Bible, seems to attribute the desire to promote its distribution to no higher motive than political innovation. I endeavored to impress upon his mind the great benefit, which the diligent reading of the Word of God is calculated to produce on every class of the community. He promised to recommend the purchase of it to his countrymen.

Dined with the Danish Consul. The Vice-Consul stated it as his opinion, that the population of Tunis amounts to 150,000 souls. He thinks 300 to be about the number of slaves annually imported. He states—"They are very ill-treated on the journey from the interior. The laws of European nations respecting them are sometimes evaded. All black slaves are made Mohammedans; and many think, it is better for them, because Mohammedans, by their law, are obliged to treat them well: if the master eats white bread, he must give the same to his slave: slaves, if dissatisfied with their masters, can require to be resold. There is no depending upon a Moor for correct information on these subjects: they purposely deceive. The Jews can never obtain redress, but by paying money: if deprived of any privileges, the strongest arguments are of no avail: they can recover them, only by paying.

Saturday, Nov. 13, 1824—Occupied in Arabic lessons. Spent the evening at the house of the Swedish Consul, and had some conversation with a lady who has long been resident here; particularly relative to the want of public worship, which she much regretted; stating that the sabbath is, in fact, now quite a day of business. We enumerated, in Tunis, twenty-five Protestant Christians. I suggested the plan of their meeting at the house of some one of them, for united prayer and to hear a sermon; but no decisive answer was given. One present said, that if there were a clergyman, it might be done.

Monday, Nov. 15—Took my first lesson in Arabic, from a master whom I have engaged. He is a Jew. His name is Mordecai Naggiar. He resided, for some years, in Paris; and is acquainted with Baron de Sacy, professor Kieffer, and other Oriental scholars.

Tuesday, Nov. 16—Visited the slave market. About twenty females, from fifteen to thirty years of age, were sitting on one

side of the market and round the raised platform in the centre: two of them had infants. I could with difficulty overcome my feelings, on seeing these poor creatures successively taken by the hand and led about the market by two hard-looking men, who acted as auctioneers, calling out continually the last price offered. They were occasionally stopped, both by men and women; and made to shew their arms, tongue, and teeth: but there seemed to be few purchasers; and none were sold during the half hour that I remained. Some were thoughtless; others appeared dejected. I asked two or three of them, through a Maltese Gentleman who accompanied me, from whence they had been brought; but they did not understand him. Speaking to a moor, who understood a little Italian, of the cruelty of the traffic, he replied that it was the custom of the country; adding, "These, unless they are sold, will not work; but, being sold, we compel them." Putting the question to him whether about 300 might be the number annually sold, he signified by his manner that I was much below the mark: he probably, however, included such as, from time to time, change masters; for, in the course of our conversation, speaking of one of the two who had infants, he said that she had been several years in Tunis. Being suddenly called away, I was prevented from making further inquiries.

Conversing on the subject, on my return to the Inn, with Mordecai Naggjar, he assured me that the condition of the Jews is worse than that of the slaves. They are, in general, very ignorant and superstitious; and their rabbies very tyrannical—exercising a species of inquisition over them. Not one in three hundred would receive the New Testament: he gave a copy to one individual; and, since reading it, he states that he has discontinued the use of the Jewish prayers, which are so many vain repetitions, and confines himself to the use of the Lord's prayer. He further informed me, that he is making a collection of passages from the Old Testament, which have reference to the Messiah; and finds that they are very numerous—in fact, that their scriptures are full of them: he quoted, particularly, parts of the prophecy of Isaiah. Speaking of our Saviour, he said that the great objection of the Jews is, that He called himself the Son of God. He states that he answers their difficulties by passages of scripture, in which men are called Gods and sons of God: such as, *I have said, ye are Gods* (Ps. lxxxii. 6.); and, *There was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord* (Job. i. 6.). It is plain, however, that his way of reasoning with his brethren is not by him intended to reach so high a standard, as the argument of our Lord himself in John x. 34.

The remainder of my conversation with him was on the necessity of a mediator, the nature of true conversion, and the necessity of the divinity of Christ in order to the validity of His atonement. He told me before leaving, that he was hated by the Jews on account of the liberality of his sentiments; but that, being employed by the government as a translator, and

known as a friend of the Prime Minister of the Bey, the rabbies had not the same power over him as over the generality.

The Jews have a separate tribunal, for the settlement of differences among themselves; for which privilege they pay a considerable sum. When any thing is required of them by the government, the person employed by them as their Judge and Representative is sent for, and answers for the whole body.

Thursday, Nov. 18, 1824—Mordecai Naggiaar accompanied me to a Jewish Elementary-school: it was held in a miserable synagogue; and consisted of about fifty boys, from six to ten years of age. The masters were two poor rabbies; one was teaching the Hebrew characters; the elder children, under the direction of the other, were chaunting out of the Pentateuch and Prophets. Such as were unoccupied, were very unruly. After receiving the elementary instruction, the higher classes are introduced to the Talmud. There is a manuscript copy of the Pentateuch, on parchment, in the synagogue; which I was told is brought out, and two or three chapters read from it every Saturday. A Jewess, who came in, asked if I was going to do as the Maltese had done; alluding to one, who a few days before, had turned Jew, in order to marry a Jewess. On my expressing a wish that they were all Christians, she replied that she should then go to hell, for she should have to bow down to a log of wood. My interpreter, Mordecai, immediately answered, that I was not one of that description.

Friday, Nov. 19—Took an Arabic lesson, and translated Watts's First Catechism into Italian.

My Greek has found a ready sale for a number of Tracts, in Greek and Italian; with which, at his request, I had supplied him.

In the evening called on the American Consul: he estimated the number of Christians, of all denominations, in Tunis, at about a thousand; including a good many employed in various capacities about the person of the Bey.

Monday, Nov. 22—Having proceeded with the Arabic Spelling-book according to the plan laid down, as far as words of four and more syllables, I to-day commenced copying a selection of sentences from the Proverbs. Gave also Watts's First Catechism to Mordecai Naggiaar, to turn into Arabic.

He acquaints me that he compiled for the Dutch government, and forwarded to the Royal Institution at Amsterdam, a Grammar and Vocabulary of the language of the ZENATI; tribes of mountaineers, which Dr. Shaw places about 130 miles to the north-west of Tunis, near the island of Tabarca. The work occupied him ten months. The way in which he executed it was this: a native of the country came, and remained with him a great part of the day; but, as the man had no idea of grammar, he was obliged to make out the parts of speech, declensions of nouns, &c., and the construction of sentences, by three or four examples from the Arabic. He has used the Arabic characters. A copy of the work is deposited in the Chancery of the Dutch

consulate. The compiler was not permitted to retain one for himself.

The same individual informs me, that the SHOWIAH is another dialect of North Africa, spoken by tribes further to the west.* It resembles the language of the Zenati. He is desirous of undertaking a similar work to that above mentioned in this language, and another in that of BORNOU. Neither of these dialects has, as yet, been reduced to a written standard. Short vocabularies exist of them, in the works of various travellers; but no books have been written in them. I recommended him to begin immediately. He has some idea of doing so on his own account, if he should not be employed by the Royal Institution of Amsterdam; to which, he says, he has written, relative to these undertakings. Understanding from him that the Institution above referred to, had made inquiries relative to the Maltese, I gave him a copy of the Gospel of St. John in that language.

Tuesday, Nov. 23, 1824—Received a case of Scriptures which had been deposited at the Custom-House. It had been opened, and the contents examined. After being asked by the Collector of the customs from what country I came, and whether the case contained any thing besides books, it was delivered to me free of all expense, except a trifling charge for warehouse-rent and portage. While the books were counting, a well-dressed man, who spoke very good Italian, and I presume was either a Renegado or Christian in the habit of a Turk, informed me that the Collector wished to have an Italian and an Arabic Bible. On presenting him with a copy of each, he simply stated that he was much obliged to me. Some of the by-standers, of whom there were many, said, that if the books were to be given, they

* Concerning the Showiah dialect, the following may be added from Shaw:—"The Kabyles, from their situation and language, (for all the rest of the country speak the Arabic tongue) seem to be the only people of these kingdoms who can bear any near relation to the ancient Africans. For, notwithstanding the great variety of conquests to which the low and cultivated parts of this country have been so often subject, yet it is more than probable, that all or the greater part of the mountainous districts were, from their rugged situation, in a great measure left free and unmolested. Whilst the Nomader, therefore, and inhabitants of such cities and villages as were of easy access, submitted by degrees to the loss of their old language, and to the introduction of such new laws and customs as were consequent upon these invasions; those Africans, who retired to the mountains, and there formed themselves into Kabyleah or clans, may be supposed to have been the least affected with these novelties. It may be further urged, that, as they would be hereby obliged to converse chiefly among themselves, so, for the same reason, they would continue to be much the same people; and, in all probability, preserve their original language, without any considerable alteration. But what this was, he must be a very bold conjecturer, who can, at this distance of time, pretend to ascertain. For, indeed, it is scarce conceivable, but that the Carthaginians, who possessed all Africa from Cyrene to the Atlantic ocean, must in consequence of their many conquests and colonies, have, in some measure, introduced their own language, of which we have a specimen in the *Pænulus* of Plautus. And a still greater change must it probably have suffered, from the successive admission of Romans and Vandals into these countries. Thus much, however, is certain, that there is no affinity at all betwixt what may be supposed to be the primitive words in the Showiah (as they call this language at present) and the words which convey the same meaning in the Hebrew and Arabic tongues. For *Thamurt*, *Arg haz*, *Thamtuth*, *Agarum*, *Aksum*, &c. (their names for Earth, a Man, a Woman, Bread, Flesh, &c.) cannot, I presume, be any way related to the Oriental languages. But the reader is referred to a vocabulary of this language, which is inserted after the *Excerpta*." (*Shaw's Travels*, pp. 288, 289.) The specimen which he afterward gives of the Showiah language consists of about a hundred and twenty words.

were all ready to receive: I told them that if any should wish to purchase, they would find me at the Imperial Inn. The individual who first spoke to me having again alluded to the Arabic Bibles, I said that they were much sought after in Syria; "and," he added, "in Egypt, by the Copts;" from which I infer, that the report of the sale of the Scriptures in Egypt has reached also this country. I said that it was the duty of all to read the Word of God; to which he assented. To two Moors who said they could read, I gave copies of the Arabic Book of Genesis: one began immediately to read aloud.

The Collector of the Customs, Seignior Gelluli, is reputed to be very rich, and has consequently a good deal of influence. His sons, I am told, farm some of the principal situations.

One of the exiled Neapolitan canons, who resides in the same inn with me, coming into my room, I presented him with some tracts. He expressed his entire approbation of the object of the Bible Society, which I had explained to him. Having shewed him the Italian Bible, and alluded to the opposition of the Roman-Catholic clergy, in many parts, to the reading of the Scriptures, he said that perhaps there would not have been so much if they had been printed in Rome instead of London; adding, jocosely, "But, as England does not acknowledge the Pope, who knows but there may be some poison in these books?"—meaning, probably, in the English editions. He stated the number of Franks in Tunis to be about 1200; besides a good many Italians, who are not permanent residents. With reference to Roman Catholics, of which communion this number is chiefly composed, he said, that it must be confessed, that the greater part here could scarcely be called Christians, or of any religion whatever.

A few further observations, on my part, were relative to the state of Italy, divided between the superstitious and the infidels; and the advantages of female education. Mentioning to him what was doing in Malta, in this respect, he regretted the suppression of the Normal schools in Italy. He observed, on another occasion, that, without toleration, he could see no hope of doing good to the Mohammedans.

Wednesday, Nov. 24, 1824—Called on the English Vice-Consul, chiefly to make inquiries relative to reports of the plague. An old Italian renegado, one of the medical attendants of the Bey, whom I met at the British Consulate, assured Mr. Tulin that there was no cause whatever for alarm; the rumors which were abroad being entirely without foundation. These assurances, however, are not considered so perfectly satisfactory, as to remove all apprehension from the minds of the Europeans; for most of the medical men would probably be afraid to speak of any suspicious cases which might come under their knowledge. It is an undoubted fact, that, at the commencement of the plague of 1820, its existence was denied by the government, till the inhabitants were dying so numerously that it could no longer be concealed.

Thursday, Nov. 25—Mordecai Naggiar informed me, that it difficult to procure any Arabic manuscripts: they chiefly

consist of books of Mohammedan devotion. The public venders of them will not allow them to be touched by Jews or Christians, because they contain the name of their prophet; in consequence, they can only be purchased privately, through a Mohammedan. I was shewn a volume containing about 6000 proverbs in the Western character, and a book of fables: of the fables I was informed that there is a copy in Paris: the price asked for the proverbs was 500 piastres. Mordecai told me that the royal institution of Amsterdam had also made inquiries of him relative to manuscripts, and that he was expecting an order for the volume of proverbs above mentioned.

Gave ten copies of the Arabic Genesis, and two Arabic Testaments, to G. di Pasquale, for distribution, among about 300 pilgrims, proceeding to Mecca by way of Alexandria, and now on board a brig lying at the Goletta. If they do not meet with a vessel for Alexandria, they sometimes perform the whole distance by land. For a passage to Alexandria they usually pay about six dollars each. They prefer the spring to any other season of the year, for setting out on their pilgrimage.

VISIT TO THE RUINS OF CARTHAGE.

Tuesday, Nov. 30—Visited the ruins of Carthage, in company with the Danish and American Consuls. They are about ten miles distant from Tunis. The heavy rains, which are generally expected at an earlier period than this, not having as yet set in, the roads, which from the lowness of the ground and lightness of the soil would have otherwise been almost impassable, was perfectly dry. On one side, are the remains of the celebrated aqueduct, by which Carthage was supplied with water from a mountain called Zowan, about thirty miles distant from Tunis: they consist of mere masses of stone and cement, thrown down, and lying at the distance of a few yards from one another.

We proceeded to the inconsiderable village of Malga; containing, as I was informed, about fifty inhabitants: and, from thence, to what are denominated the smaller cisterns: they are in an excellent state of preservation, and might be completely repaired at a trifling expence. The larger cisterns, or those which received the water from the aqueduct, are on lower ground, at a short distance from the others: they are at present used by the bedouen Arabs for habitations, and appeared to be in a much less perfect condition.

Besides what I have mentioned, the observer is struck with the view of fragments of mosaic pavements, chips of marble, and shreds of earthen vessels, which lie scattered in every direction. Doubtless many valuable remains of antiquity are buried under the soil; but researches of this kind are not only very expensive, but are also of too absorbing a nature for those whose business is with the living.

Wednesday, Dec. 1—Slept last night at El Marsa, at the house of the Danish Consul; and walked with him, this morning, to Sidi Baseid, a village on the most-elevated part of cape Carthage.

and at about an hour's distance from the ruins. From the remains of an old castle, called the tower of St. Louis, we had a fine view of the surrounding country, the roads and lake of Tunis, Porto Farina, the island of Zimbra, and cape Bon. I had taken with me a few copies of the Arabic Genesis; but, the inhabitants being represented as extremely superstitious, I was recommended not to attempt the distribution of them: a well-dressed Moor, however, having saluted us and answered a few questions, I presented him with a copy. He received it thankfully, and began to read in the presence of others. I was informed, that, some years ago, christians were not permitted to enter this village, on account of its reputed sanctity. An old man, who passed for a distinguished saint, was sitting by the side of the road: he was, at least, clean; and there was something respectable in his appearance: the Dragoman, or Janissary, who accompanied us, sat down by him, either at his request or command, for they have some of them a good deal of authority; and was, afterward, conducted by him seemingly against his will, to visit the tomb of the Saint after whom the village is called. A few coins, as is generally the case on the appearance of strangers, were brought out by the inhabitants; none, however, but such as may be purchased in Tunis without difficulty. In returning home, we met two individuals on their way to the village, each of them having a wax-candle, which I was told was for an offering for the Saint.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS AT TUNIS.

A shocking instance of cruelty occurred yesterday, which will give an idea of judicial proceedings in Barbary. The two victims of it were a young Jew and a Moorish woman. It was stated that they had been taken in adultery; but all the circumstances were so improbable, as to leave no doubt on the minds of most persons, of the innocence of the parties. The crime was affirmed to have been committed about four days ago, and the individuals were immediately taken to prison. The young man was carried before the Bey yesterday morning; and some witnesses came forward, and gave evidence of the fact: the poor Jew, seeing that his death was determined on, as the last resource repeated the Mohammedan profession of faith, by which he became a Turk: he was told, however, that it was too late, as he had been induced to take the step through fear: this measure failing, he boldly asserted his innocence; telling the Bey, that he was his superior now, but that before God they should be equal, and that he should then ask an account of his blood: the Bey shook his clothes, and said that it would lie at the door of the witnesses: from the palace, he was immediately conducted, to the place of execution, and cut down: I was told that his sufferings were not protracted; one of the executioners having almost immediately struck off his head: his mangled body was afterward dragged about the town by the infuriated mob, and treated with every possible indignity: he has left a wife and two young children, who, by the seizure and confiscation of the little property that he possessed, now depend for subsistence on the small allowance which they may receive

from the general poor-fund of the Jews. The Moorish woman was a very bad and troublesome character: she was punished, according to the Mohammedan custom, by being put into a sack and drowned.

I much regret, having been absent during this transaction; for I cannot help thinking that a little exertion might have procured for the unfortunate individual, at least a regular trial according to Mohammedan law. By that law, so many qualifications in a witness are required, that the lives of the parties would probably have been saved: at all events, time would have been gained, which might have led to the developement of many circumstances. It was generally thought, that revenge, for legal proceedings to which the Jew had had recourse against a Moor for the recovery of a debt, was at the bottom of the whole affair. In consequence of a some-what similar case, which happened about a year and a half ago, I was told that it was made an article in the last treaty with the British Government, that a christian shall not be put to death within less than forty-eight hours from the time of conviction, and that the trial shall be conducted in the presence of the Consul of his nation. But the Jews, unhappily, have no nation—no Consul.

Thursday, Dec. 2, 1824—Mordecai Naggiar informed me that Mohammedans have an idea that they acquire merit in heaven by taking the life of a Jew; and that, to succeed in this, they would sacrifice the lives of ten women. These observations were made with particular reference to the late occurrence; and, no doubt, under the influence of passionate indignation; yet they probably describe, not too strongly, the fanaticism which prevails among the Mussulman populace.

Friday, Dec. 3, 1824—Mordecai Naggiar asked permission to introduce to me a Moorish merchant, his friend; and called with him, almost immediately afterward. I gave him an Arabic Bible, which he promised to read through. He objected to the words, in the Lord's Prayer, *which art in heaven*, observing that God was every where. He highly approved of the ten Commandments. Speaking of the Koran, he expressed by his manner great admiration, and said that it was a compendium of every thing. I said but little, except recommending him to read the Scriptures; chiefly because I felt doubtful whether my interpreter, being a Jew, would venture to interpret the remarks which I should probably make.

The divinity of our Saviour is as great a stumbling-block with Mohammedans as with Jews. The Mohammedans do not believe Him to have been crucified. They appear also to object to all passages of Scripture which represent the Deity in terms expressive of locality or of human attributes.

My Greek called to settle for several copies of the Scriptures which he had sold. He informed me that one of his countrymen was bastinadoed yesterday, because a pair of shoes which he had made did not fit the purchaser. He stated also, that all the Greeks who had embraced Mohammedanism were at Bardo, the palace of the Bey; and that three of the women still remained christians.

Saturday, Dec. 4—Arabic lessons, part of the day. In the afternoon, I took a ride into the country. My companion stated that he had seen the Greek boys at Bardo very superbly dressed: it is in this way that the poor children are enticed into the renunciation of christianity. He represented the condition of the slaves as better than that of many Moors; because it is the interest of their masters to take care of them. The right which they possess of demanding to be re-sold, is also adduced as an additional proof of their being well off: this may, indeed, operate favorably in some instances; but it must be recollected, that the proprietor enjoys, on his part likewise, the privilege of selling his slave if discontented with him. If, therefore, we consider the case of slaves, and particularly of females, their remembrance of past hardships, the possibility of their suffering worse treatment, and, above all, the dread of being again carried they know not whither, it may justly be doubted whether the power which the master possesses of transferring them, would not operate as a strong inducement to endure a very high degree of present suffering, rather than hazard (it might be) a still greater.

Speaking of the produce of the country, while riding through the olive-grounds, my companion informed me that oil, in the district of Tunis, can only be sold to the Bey, and that he fixes his own price. There is also an impost of ten per cent.; which is said to be levied, not on the actual crop or produce, but on what the land is judged capable of producing, so that it sometimes amounts to more than a tithe. He further stated, that a caravan, which is expected to bring nearly 800 slaves, would probably arrive about the month of January.

Monday, Dec. 6—Called on the Padre Prefetto, the Superior of the Roman-Catholic church here, and requested his acceptance of an Italian Bible. He said that he had already provided himself with a copy, but that he could give it to his companion in the mission.

The Superior is an aged Capuchin friar, and has been twenty years in Tunis: his companion is also a Capuchin, and is about thirty years of age. The latter had lately returned from Susa: from which place he had been sent for, to marry a couple and baptize a child. They are not in the habit of visiting other places, unless they are sent for; and their expenses are then paid by the parties requiring their attendance. The Superior stated that the number of Roman Catholics in Tunis does not exceed 800, including those at the palace. He declared his approbation of the distribution of the Scriptures. I observed, that, in these countries, christians have but few religious advantages; and alluded, as evidence of the importance of religious instruction, to the case of three young women, who, a few days previously, had turned Mohammedans. I added, that they could only have had the name of christians; but that if they had been well instructed in the Scriptures, they would have been able, when conversed with, to have shewn the grounds of their belief, and that their arguments might possibly have made an impression on the minds of even Moors themselves. He said that they had been *educated more like Turks than christians, and that they could*

scarcely speak Italian. Following up the subject, I stated that I thought a christian might say to a Turk—"God cannot have two laws: either Christ, therefore, or Mohammed must be false. You believe Christ to have been a true prophet, and respect Moses, the patriarchs, &c.: let us examine, therefore, what they have said." He replied, "Yes, the true religion must be one."—"There may," I said, "be differences in matters of discipline." He answered, "Yes, according to circumstances; but dogma must be one."—"There may be a diversity of opinion," I replied, "among christians, on minor points; but the essential doctrines must be held by all. These doctrines," I continued, "are contained in the Holy Scriptures; and, when they are read, we may hope that the blessing of God will accompany the perusal. As a member of the Church of England, we differ, as you know, in some points; but we both believe the Holy Scriptures to be the Word of God; and should, therefore, do all in our power to promote their circulation in all languages."

On the subject of schools, he said that there were two or three small ones kept by individuals, but nothing like general education. He added, "A few females know enough of reading to be able to learn the catechism, but little more." I urged him to assemble as many children as possible, and to read with them the Scriptures. He replied, that this could be done without difficulty.

The Superior further informed me, that there is a chapel at the Bey's palace, where mass is said for the Catholics; and that their mission is under French protection, the ospizio, or convent, being mentioned in the treaty between the two governments. The other friar added, that they are sent to the christians, not to Mohammedans; and that if they were to speak to Mohammedans on the subject of religion, they might be denounced for having blasphemed Mohammed, and lose the protection which their habit affords them. I referred them to the command, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature*. The Superior stated, that there certainly were cases, in which it was the duty of a minister to expose his life. I concluded by observing, that God only can convert the heart; and that true christianity does not consist in mere outward profession, but in true faith in Jesus Christ, manifesting itself in obedience to His commandments.

I had determined to call on the poor Jewess, whose husband was put to death a few days ago; and also to endeavor to interest some of the consuls in her favor: but my Arabic master, himself a Jew, told me that it would be better not to do so, as it might excite a suspicion that the Jews were seeking the protection of a Christian nation, and so be worse both for the family and the Jews in general.

Tuesday, Dec. 7, 1824—The Greek papas called upon me. I requested him to furnish me with a list of Greeks who can read, and have it not in their power to pay for copies of the scriptures. Having stated to him that I had heard that three of the Greek women, who had been brought to Tunis as

slaves, had not renounced Christianity, he promised to ascertain if these also could read, and to endeavor to see them as often as possible.

I inquired of Mordecai Naggiar, for what consideration he would undertake the compilation of a grammar and vocabulary of the Showiah language: he replied that he would rather wait till he should receive answers to letters which he had written to Holland.

Wednesday, Dec. 8, 1824—Employed upon Arabic, part of the day. Much time was passed to-day, with persons who called to look at the scriptures.

Thursday, Dec. 9—Arabic master; and much time taken up, as yesterday, by persons who came either to purchase the scriptures or to look at them from curiosity. The Moors, who could read, seemed to understand the Arabic Bible: they generally read with hesitation; partly on account of the smallness of the print, and partly from want of practice in the Meskerni or Eastern character. They pointed out the large print in the title-page with great delight.

Friday, Dec. 10—A Jew, who had purchased a Hebrew Bible and Testament, returned them, in consequence of the reading of them having been prohibited by the rabbies. Mordecai Naggiar informed me, that the reading of the New Testament had been prohibited under pain of excommunication: he expressed, however, his belief, that it would be read privately. The objections which have been made to the Old Testament, it was reported to me, arose from the Latin Preface, the Latin Titles, and the giving of the various readings; but, more particularly, from the use of the cross as a mark of reference. Many copies of an edition which shall contain simply the Hebrew, I feel persuaded, might be sold.

In the afternoon, Mordecai called upon me with an old Polish Jew, who has been many years in Tunis. Understanding that he was a rabbi and a liberal-minded man, I gave him a Hebrew Testament; and endeavored, by explanation, to convince him of the unreasonableness of the rabbies, in having prohibited the use of the Hebrew Bible for the causes assigned; and added, that the Jews ought at least to study their own scriptures, that the command of God was very explicit on the subject, and that the rabbies who prevented them would incur a greater degree of punishment. He said that the rabbies, themselves, knew more of the Talmud, than the Holy scriptures. He read the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah: but made no reply. Speaking a very few words of Italian, he probably did not understand some remarks which I made relative to the institution of sacrifices, and the duty of the Jews to hear what Christians have to say.

Saturday, Dec. 11—Arabic Spelling-book, a considerable part of the day. Mordecai Naggiar requested the loan of Erpenius, to copy from it the fables of Lokmann for the Prime Minister of the Bey.

A Jew who had purchased thirty Hebrew Bibles for re-sale, called several times to request of me to take back the twelve copies which he had received and paid for, and to return him his

money; assuring me that he should be a loser of the whole amount, as the rabbies had compelled him to restore the money to those to whom he had sold them. Various considerations induced me to refuse his request; the principal of which were—first, because, generally speaking, where money is concerned, their word is not entitled to much credit—secondly, because I felt it my duty not to encourage their implicit submission to their rabbies—and, thirdly, because I should not have been sure that any of the copies returned would have been perfect. After a good deal of entreaty, however, I made him a small allowance.

Monday, Dec. 13—Mordecai Naggiar returned me Dr. Watts' first catechism in Italian, not having translated it into Arabic as I had requested him to do. During the time that he remained with me to-day, he translated the headings of a selection from the four Gospels. This selection completes the Arabic spelling-book, according to the proposed arrangement.

Called on the Padre Prefetto of the Roman Catholics, for the purpose of having some further conversation with him. He stated that he should have no objection, publicly to recommend the reading of the Holy Scriptures; and agreed to purchase a number of copies for re-sale or gratuitous distribution. Speaking of the people under his superintendence, he said that many of them were poor; and that they did not manifest a greater desire to possess the Scriptures, because they were not absolutely necessary. I replied, that nothing could be of greater importance; for, when the Scriptures are neglected, religion is likely to degenerate into mere outward ceremonies.

With reference to the use of images and pictures, I observed, that we should examine whether some of the usages of the church may not be a stumbling-block to Mohammedans. He justified the practice of having them; and said that Catholics do not pray to them, but to the persons whom they represent. I remarked, that the second Commandment appeared to me to be conclusive against the custom: that, he said, was given to the Jews, because they were a people very much given to idolatry; I replied, that Christ confirmed all the Commandments, not having come into the world to destroy the law, but to fulfil it: he said, "yes, to glorify it." I added, that man is, by nature, prone to idolatry; and that God knows our hearts better than we do ourselves. As to the distinction between addressing the representation and the person represented, I stated, that, from what I had seen, I much doubted whether it was one which was made by the illiterate; adding, that the bulk of mankind were of this class. He remarked, that the English Church was not opposed to the use of them: I replied, that a picture is sometimes to be found in an English Church, but it was placed there merely as an ornament. I added, that it was contrary to the practice of the primitive times, as might be proved both from ecclesiastical and profane history: he answered, that christianity was then in its infancy, and that it became more perfect afterward: I replied, that the nearer we approach the apostolic age, the more pure we shall find christianity.

Introducing the subject of the intercession of saints and of the Virgin Mary, I stated, that the doctrine of their mediation and the practice of praying to them appeared to me to be contrary to Scripture; and quoted the passages, *There is one God; and one Mediator betw'en God and man, the man Christ Jesus—and, God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.* I added, that the divinity of our Saviour was indispensably requisite to the acceptance of His atonement, and that they who deny the one put no trust in the other. In the last observation he fully agreed: but said, with respect to the former, that the merits of the saints were accepted for the sake of Christ, the great Mediator; or words of similar import. I answered by quoting the words, *When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.* He proceeded to speak of the different degrees or worship, Latria, Hyperdulia, and Dulia; the first rendered to the Almighty, the second to the Virgin Mary, and the third to the saints.

Alluding to Miracles, the Prefetto said that they were a sign of the true church, quoting the passage *Mirabilis Deus in Sanctis suis.* England, he said, had justly been called "la terra Angelica;" no country having produced so many saints: since the reformation, however, not one. Granting, he continued, that many of the miracles said to have been wrought were impositions, yet some surely were true. I replied, that many being false might lead us to doubt of others, particularly if brought forward in support of doctrines contrary to Holy Scripture. He stated the senses of Scripture to be three; namely, literal, allegorical, and paragogical; adding, *littera occidit animam—the letter killeth the soul;* and said, that the true meaning had been given by the fathers of the church, in the notes accompanying authorised versions.

Previously to leaving him, I made a few observations relative to the nature of justifying faith, as revealed in the Scriptures and received by Protestants. Professing to agree with what I had stated, he said, "*Yes—fi les sine operibus mortuus est*"—*faith without works is dead:* but not, I fear, in the scriptural sense of the passage.

Tuesday, Dec. 14, 1824.—Wrote to the Committee of the Bible Society in Malta, giving an account of Scriptures sold, and distributed gratuitously, up to the present period. They amount to 69 copies; of which 49 have been sold, and 29 given away. Since the prohibition of the Hebrew Bible, the languages in which they have been most inquired for have been Arabic, Greek, and Italian.

Called on Mr. Fulin, and lent him the last report of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

It has been stated to me, on very good authority, that one of the witnesses against the poor Jew, mentioned on the 1st instant, being about to suffer for some crime of which he has since been convicted, has acknowledged that his evidence was false, and

that he had received money for it from several individuals. Some of these, it is said, have also been arrested.

Wednesday, Dec. 15, 1824—I called on the Superior of the Roman Catholics, and sold him five Italian Bibles and ten Testaments. He lamented the liberty, or rather the licentiousness, of the press; in consequence of which, indecent and blasphemous publications were to be found in the hands of so many. I replied, and he fully assented, that it was the duty of christians to oppose to this evil the counteracting influence of the Holy Scriptures.

Spent the evening at the house of the Swedish Consul; and had a good deal of conversation on religious subjects with two ladies many years resident in Tunis. They had received a religious education. One of them stated, that the door of their father's house (he was British Consul) was closed to every one on the Sabbath. He experienced many difficulties, in consequence of his religious habits, and of his care to preserve his family from the evil of bad example. He had, at different times, two clergymen; but their conduct was not correct, and he was under the necessity of dismissing them: this was a great grief to him. He would not permit his children to learn the language of the country; in order, no doubt, that their minds might be preserved untainted by the oaths and indecent expressions, to the hearing of which they might have been constantly exposed.

Thursday, Dec. 16—Mordecai Naggiar brought with him the old man whom he had employed to assist him in the compilation of the Zenati language. He is a Zowawi; and the mountains from which he comes are in the kingdom of Algiers, about eleven days (as he said) distant from Tunis. He offered to accompany me, if I would go; but said that it would be requisite to change my dress. There are several tribes: "Some," he stated, "are not-good Mussulmans." They have frequent wars among themselves; but all animosity ceases, when they are threatened by the Algerines; by whom, he says, they have never yet been subjugated. He stated himself to be the only surviving one of several brothers, and that all the others had been killed in wars with the Algerines. They have no books in their language: when they have any thing to write, they go to some one who understands Arabic, and get him to write it for them. A good many, he said, speak a little Arabic; particularly those who have business with the low country. I shewed him the book of Genesis: but he read it with difficulty, partly on account of the smallness of the print and partly because of its being in the Mesherki or eastern character; probably also, in part, because Arabic was not his native tongue. He declined receiving it, because, he said, it would be of no use to him.

Friday, Dec. 17—I discontinued taking lessons in Arabic, and paid Mordecai Naggiar for one month.

Took account of the Scriptures on hand, and put up two cases for Susa and Sfax.

Saturday, Dec. 18—In consequence of a great many piastres, the circulating medium of Tunis, having been from time to time sent out of the country, the Bey has come to the determination

of debasing the coin. It is greatly believed, that this measure, added to stricter regulations to prevent the exportation of any kind of specie, will operate as a further embarrassment to trade, which is stated to be already in a very languishing condition.

During my residence in this country, there have been, on an average, about nine vessels in the roads and canal, at one time. Allowing each of them a month, and supposing this to be the usual number and such to be the average length of their stay, which I have understood to be the case, the yearly total would be 108. The principal trade is with Marseilles, Genoa, and Leghorn.

I gave a Spanish Testament to a poor carpenter, who lives under my window. He lost all his property in a storm in the bay of Tunis, about four years ago, when twenty merchant-vessels and a considerable part of the Bey's fleet perished, together with nearly 2,000 seamen. When I asked him if he was poor, he lifted up his hands; and, shewing them, said that he had nothing else to depend on. He regretted having lost, with his other property, a Spanish Testament, which had been given him at Mahon. He refused to take any thing for work which he had done for me at various times; but requested another Spanish Testament, for a man with whom he worked. He observed, that if these books were generally distributed in his country, it would not be in its present condition.

Monday, Dec. 20, 1824—Mordecai Naggiar brought me the last sheet of a collection of Arabic proverbs, extracted from a book in his possession, and in common use among the natives of Barbary. The selection consists of thirteen sheets full; but it will require a careful revision, as some of them, however expressive or adapted to the taste of this country, are inconsistent with common delicacy.

The Jews are hiding their cooking utensils, to prevent their being taken by the Bey's people; who, it is said, are going about to collect copper for the purpose of debasing the coin.

I dined with Mr. Tulin, and afterward accompanied him and his family to the house of his brother the Swedish Consul. A younger brother, who had a few days previously returned from Susa, informed me that the population of that town is estimated at about 20,000. In it there are three or four christian families. It is not considered perfectly safe, at present, to travel between Susa and Sfax: the danger arises from recent disturbances, which are not yet entirely suppressed. Oil and soap are the principal articles of export.

Tuesday, Dec. 21—Had some conversation relative to the trade of Tunis. During the last few years, there has been no direct intercourse with England. My companion shewed me samples of oil, and stated that it was capable of being made equal to any which is produced in Italy. The prejudice against this country which exists in England, is adduced as a reason that the trade has not been more cultivated. In consequence of the bad policy of the Government, there is a great deal of uncultivated land. Referring to the subject of slavery, he stated that the price of slaves is now much reduced. Smyrna

and Constantinople were formerly considerable markets; but masters of vessels are now reluctant to become parties to this traffic, owing to the risk to which they would render themselves liable.

VISIT TO BIZERTA.

Wednesday, Dec. 22—At day-light this morning, I set out for Bizerta, a town on the sea-coast, about 45 miles to the north-north-west of Tunis. It is the *Hippo Zaritensis* of the ancients*. There is a regular communication with this place from Tunis, two or three times a week. The caravans, however, are sometimes very small: that with which I travelled consisted of four animals, accompanied by two men.

After passing through the olive-grounds in the neighborhood of Tunis, which extend in this direction to the distance of seven or eight miles, we entered on a very extensive and fertile plain; and crossed the Megerda, after travelling for about six hours. The banks of this river are about sixty feet apart. The stream, (if stream it may be called, for its motion was scarcely perceptible when I crossed it, is at present about thirty feet wide and two feet deep; but it becomes rapid after heavy rains, and sometimes rises very suddenly. Near the spot where we crossed, there are the remains of an ancient bridge: it has been partly rebuilt; and a sufficient number of hewn stones for its completion are now lying by the side of the river. It was stated to me that they had been dug out of the ruins of Utica. The work has been discontinued for some time, and will probably never be resumed by the present government.

Continuing our route, after leaving the Megerda, through country more or less cultivated, we descended into the plain of Utica. The ground is low; and, in a great measure, overgrown with rushes. What are supposed to be the ruins of the ancient city are seen at the distance of about a mile-and-a-half from the road. There is a line of hills at the extremity of this plain, very rugged; and, when you have ascended it, the country for a considerable distance, assumes a less fertile aspect. I observed a few inconsiderable piles of ruins here and there. Leaving El Alia (a town situated on high ground, as the name of it denotes) at some distance on our right, we passed a small inhabited village about five miles from Bizerta. Here we arrived a little before sunset. Seigneur G. Manucci, the English Vice-Consul of Bizerta, had called upon me in Tunis, and I was kindly received into the house of that gentleman.

Bizerta is situated on the western side of a very narrow irregular channel, which communicates with the sea on the

* Bochart having given a very learned and satisfactory account of the derivation of the name *Hippo Zaritensis*, or *Hippo Diarrhytus*, (Vide Chanaan, Lib. I. Cap. 24 Col. 474, 475.) takes notice of the other Hippo, called *Hippo Regius*, which is more to the west, and was formerly the episcopal seat of St. Augustine. He adds, however—for which no sufficient authority is given—"Duorum Hipponum hodie Regius solus superest." The passage, which he quotes immediately after from Victor Utiensis, only alludes to *Hippo Regius*, as still existing; but not to the exclusion of *Hippo Zaritensis*, which is Bizerta.

north, and on the south with an extensive lake which reaches six or seven miles inland. We crossed the channel, from the eastern side, by a stone bridge, 15 to 20 feet wide; on the right of which is a portion of the channel, which anciently formed a commodious harbor: it is now, however, too shallow to admit of the entrance of vessels. In consequence of the danger to which vessels are exposed while lying in the open roads on the north, it is but seldom that masters of ships can be induced to proceed to this port during the winter season. The principal article of exportation is corn.

Like other Turkish towns, Bizerta has a neat appearance at a distance, but is in reality very mean and filthy. It is surrounded by a wall; and is fortified toward the sea, by two or three castles. A chain, of considerable thickness, is thrown across the mouth of the channel. There are likewise still existing the remains of an ancient pier, which seems to have been carried out to some distance into the roads: about fifteen yards of it are still in a tolerable state of repair.

Seignior Manucci informed me that the town contains about 14,000 inhabitants. I should have formed a much lower estimate, judging from its dimensions.

The Kiaya, it is said, pays 40,000 piastres a year for the situation.

I found in Bizerta four Christian families, consisting of about thirty individuals. The whole were unfurnished with the Holy Scriptures. The French and Sardinian Vice-Consuls purchased two copies of the Italian Bible and one Italian Testament: to Seignior Manucci, I gave an Italian Bible, and two Italian Testaments to his son and daughter. I gave also an Italian Testament to a laboring man, who could read a little, and had a numerous family. These Christians have no school, nor any stated religious instruction. To some of the children who could read, I distributed a few Italian Tracts.

The Jews are said to amount to 500; and were represented to me as being very poor. They have one synagogue, and four rabbies; of whom one is considered as their superior, two superintend the education of children, and the other conducts the service of the synagogue. I sent out a young man, a Jew, to announce that I had copies of the scriptures to sell, with specimens: he brought them back, saying that both Jews and Moham-medans refused to purchase.

I left with Seignior Manucci 25 copies in Arabic, French, Italian, and Hebrew, which he engaged to endeavor to dispose of. He also expressed an intention of reading the Italian Bible every evening with his own family. Agreeably to the persuasion of the Roman-Catholics, he expressed to me his conviction, with an air of much sincerity, that the souls of many Moorish children are saved, by a practice which the Christian women use when they hear of infants being sick; they pay the family a visit, and endeavor secretly to baptize the children.

It had been stated to me in Tunis, that Bizerta was annually visited by nearly 200 boats, chiefly Sardinian and Sicilian, employed during the summer months in the coral-fishery. Seignior

Manucci, however, informed me, that the number has not of late exceeded 60 or 70. A portion of them now resort to the island of Tabarca: with which island the Genoese have had very considerable connexions; insomuch, that, at Tunis, some of the Franks are commonly called Tabarchini.*

RETURN TO TUNIS.

Saturday, Dec. 25, 1824—I left Bizerta a little before daylight, and arrived in Tunis at half-past-five in the evening. It rained hard, the greater part of the day; and the wind being high travelling was very unpleasant. A continuance of wet weather for several days would render many parts of the road almost impassable. Travellers would, in such case, take their route by El Alia, by which the plain of Utica and other low ground are avoided.

Monday, Dec. 27—The Sheriffe D'Ghis, to whom I had been introduced in Malta, called upon me, in company with a Moorish gentleman. He is living at the village of Sidi Buseid, and regretted that he did not know that I had been there. He said that he would willingly take me to the college in Tunis, called Gmah el Zeitun, were it not that he should not like to expose me to affront, which might probably be the case. He stated that the common people were very fanatical, and recommended me not to attempt to give them books: the higher classes he considered to be more liberal. Having inquired of me if I had purchased any manuscripts, I replied that I found it difficult to procure any. He said that they might be purchased through the Dragoman of a Consul. I placed at his disposal five copies of the Arabic Genesis, for distribution at Sidi Buseid; and gave a copy to the Moor who accompanied him. He desired to have an Arabic Bible to shew to a friend, and said that he would return it almost immediately. I requested him, however, to retain it, for the purpose of lending as he might find opportunities.

I have been informed that one of the young females who lately renounced Christianity has been married to a son of the Bey, and that the two others also are expecting to be married to high connexions at Court.

Tuesday, Dec. 28—I visited the slave market. There were exhibited, as before, about twenty females. It struck me as not unlikely, that, of the slaves brought to Tunis, some may be Abyssinians. Several of the young women whom I have seen were of the same complexion as a native of that country whom I recollect to have met with in Malta. Bornou, Bergoo, and

* In reference to the island of Tabarca, Shaw speaks in the following manner:—"The river Zaine, with the ancient Thabraca situated upon the western banks of it, hath been already described. The small island, which lieth over against it, is at present in the possession of the Genoese, who pay an annual rent for it to this regency: but the little advantage that hath lately been made of the coral fishery (the chief reason of their settlement,) will possibly oblige them to abandon it in a short time. They have here a tolerably good fort, very capable to protect them, as we against any surprise from the Zenati and other Arabs of the neighboring continent, as from the insults of the cruising vessels of Algiers and Tripoli." (*Shaw's Travels*, p. 142.)

Baghermy, all slave countries, may be said to be not very distant from the borders of Abyssinia.

Wednesday, Dec. 29—Two Moors, who said that they belonged to the college, called and requested the loan of an Arabic Bible; saying, that if it should be approved, they would purchase several copies. One of them refused to sit down; giving as his reason, that the other was his superior.

I made arrangements for proceeding to Susa. For myself, two boxes of the scriptures, provisions, and other luggage, three mules will be required. The expense is seventy piastres (about 3*l.* sterling), for the journey thither and back, and to remain three days in Susa. The distance between Tunis and Susa is about 100 miles.

Thursday, Dec. 30—Several Moors called; and, pulling about the Arabic scriptures, endeavored to obtain copies. I lent two Bibles to two of them who appeared to be the most respectable.

VISIT TO SUSU.

I set out for Susa at two P.M.; and arrived at the town of Sulyman at seven in the evening, having travelled at the rate of about three-miles-and-a-half an hour. The road is level, nearly the whole of the way. It lies between the lake and the roads of Tunis on the east, and a mountainous country on the west. We passed the village of Rhades, the ancient Ades, at the distance, as nearly as I could judge, of about a mile on our left; and the hot baths, called Hamman Leef, at the distance of a few hundred yards on our right. These baths are much resorted to by the Tunisinés, and are said to be very efficacious in a variety of complaints. Between Sulyman and Tunis there is a good deal of traffic.

Friday, Dec. 31, 1824—We left Sulyman at eight o'clock this morning; and, continuing our route in a southerly direction, arrived at Hamamet about two in the afternoon. Immediately after leaving Sulyman, we entered on a fine plain of several miles extent. The soil appeared rich; and this plain has been mentioned to me in Tunis as one which produces a great quantity of corn. At the extremity of it, there is a small inhabited village. Shortly after passing this, the road lies through olive-grounds, and a country partly cultivated and partly waste. A few ruins, memorials of Roman colonies, are seen here and there; and I observed, as we passed along, a simple piece of mosaic pavement. Within a few miles of Hamamet, the road for some distance becomes rugged; but it is not so bad, but that it may be passed in the Moorish carts, which are sometimes used for travelling. The surrounding country is bold and picturesque. Hamamet is a small town, situated at the bottom of a gulf of that name. It is spoken of as formerly a place of some consideration.

Saturday, Jan. 1, 1825—I intended to sleep last night at Hamamet: my guide, however, informed me that a caravan which had arrived from Tunis, would set forward in the evening,

and asked me if I should like to accompany it. Agreeing to his proposal, we left Hamamet at seven o'clock. The caravan consisted of about fifteen camels; and a number of asses, on which the conductors of the caravan for the most part rode. Our guides were all armed. The road is at a short distance from the sea. After traversing the immense plain which lies between Hamamet and Herkla, we arrived within two or three miles of Herkla at day-light this morning. The whole distance occupied nearly twelve hours; and we had performed it, as is customary with the Arabs, without stopping. It is considered a long day's journey. Feeling very much fatigued, I would gladly have alighted at this place; but as the caravan proceeded, and my guide shewed no inclination to stop, I made no remonstrance. We rested, however, for about an hour, on an uncultivated plain, about two miles further, and arrived at Susa at one o'clock in the afternoon.

I was very kindly received by the English vice-consul Signior N. Manucci; and by his partner in business, Carlo Moro, who is the English agent at Sfax, but is at present residing at Susa. I met also, at the house of these gentlemen, a Genoese merchant of the name of Pagliano.

The town of Susa is pleasantly situated, the greater part of it being on the declivity of a hill, and contiguous to the sea. There is no port; and vessels are, consequently, obliged to lie in the open roads.

The city appeared to me to be about a mile and a half in circumference. It is surrounded by a wall and has the additional protection of two or three castles. A large mosque in it, occupies a considerable space: besides this mosque, there are several smaller. Signior Manucci and others estimate the population at 20,000; of this number, 1,000 may be Jews. I was informed that they are not ill-treated, as in Tunis; the inhabitants of Susa being more liberal in their views. This liberality may be chiefly attributed to a more extensive intercourse with Europeans, than is enjoyed in Tunis, in proportion to the extent of population. It is said, also, that the *Kiaya* is very severe; and that he listens to the slightest complaints against Moors, punishing delinquents both corporally and by fine. I was informed that he farms the situation for the annual sum of 60,000 piastres; and that, besides this sum, he has occasionally to make considerable presents.

There are three christian families established in Susa; two of which are Italians or the children of Italian parents, and one Maltese. Several of them seemed to speak Arabic as fluently as their own language; quite as readily as an educated native of Malta speaks Italian. They have no school, nor any stated religious instruction. Besides these three families, there are about ten unmarried individuals, or such as are not permanent residents, and consequently have not their families with them. Among this number there are six or seven Maltese. The whole number of christians consists of about thirty souls.

In answer to inquiries relative to slavery, Signior Manucci stated it as his opinion, that from 2000 to 3000 negro slaves are annually brought to Susa. Many arrive in boats from Tripoli.

He thought it not unlikely that there may sometimes be christians among them; but said, that, without understanding their language, it would be very difficult to ascertain the fact. They are all sold, as being of other religions than the Mohammedan; because it is contrary to the Mohammedan law that Mohammedans should be dealt with as slaves.

Sunday, Jan. 2, 1825—Seignior Manucci, his partner, and Seignior Pagliano, set off for Monasteer. I spoke to them of the sinfulness of making the Sabbath a day of business. They did not attempt to justify it; but urged the necessity of the case, as an apology, not for this single instance, but for conforming generally to the custom of the country in this particular. It being probable that Seignior Pagliano might not return from Monasteer before my sailing from Tunis, I sold him, at his request, an Italian Bible. While standing by my side, he said, in reference to Bible-society objects, apologizing at the same time for the question, "Is it possible, that you are travelling only for this object?"—meaning, probably, that it was too disinterested to be believed. I replied that I was travelling for general information; and that I had received the Scriptures in various languages, from the committee of the Bible Society in Malta, for sale or gratuitous distribution, according to circumstances. He stated that such a book, in some parts of Italy, would be worth thirty francs. I gave him a copy of the Arabic Genesis, which he expressed a wish to have an opportunity of shewing to some persons in Genoa.

A Maltese, whom I had known in Malta, having called on me, I gave him some Italian tracts, and spoke to him of the duty of reading the Scriptures.

Monday, Jan. 3—I sent out copies of the Scriptures, by a young Jew, in the employ of the English vice-consul. The heads of two of the christian families immediately purchased two Italian Bibles, one Arabic Bible, and one Italian Testament. The collector of the customs, a Mohammedan, sent a man to request specimens of all that I had in Arabic, for inspection; and stated that he would purchase, if the books should please him. Another Moor also sent to request the loan of an Arabic Bible. The same difficulties were started by the Jews here, with reference to the Hebrew Bible, as in Tunis: the rabbies found an additional objection in the words, "Posteriores Prophetæ," which they translated "The New Prophets," and said that they knew of no new Prophets. An aged rabbi called; and, passing his finger down the Hebrew text, said that that was good. He refused either the gift or the loan of a Hebrew Testament.

It is not displeasing to observe the great jealousy of the Jews with regard to the purity of the text of the sacred records; and it may be used as an argument, in conversing with Mohammedans, against their opinion that the Scriptures have been adulterated.

There were eight merchant-vessels lying in the roads of Susa—six French, one Spanish, and one Genoese. I visited four of them, but only succeeded in selling one French Testament. The roughness of the weather prevented me from going on board such of the remainder of them as were in pratique. None of the

seamen could read; and the two captains, with whom I spoke, manifested great indifference to their having opportunities of either hearing or reading the Holy Scriptures.

In walking through the town, a part was pointed out to me in which slaves are sold. I was also shewn a small Foudok, or Caravansera, in which they are kept, from the time of their arrival till they are sold or transmitted to other places. The few rooms, allotted for this purpose, which I saw, were very small and confined: there were no slaves in any to which I was admitted.

Meeting two negroes outside the walls of the town, I spoke to them by means of a young man who accompanied me. They said that they were both free: the one having been liberated by the British Consul in Tripoli, and the other by a son of Bey. They mentioned Bornou as the country from which they had been brought. Speaking of the way in which slaves are taken, they said that their chiefs go to war with one another, and sell their prisoners. The one who had been liberated by the British Consul, stated that he was very young when he was brought from his country, and that he was kidnapped while wandering at a distance from his home: he added, that slaves sometimes endeavor to escape to the British Consulate in Tripoli; and that many die from thirst during the journey from the interior.

I gave an Arabic Genesis to an old Moor for his son, who could read Arabic: it was afterward told me that his son was a school-master.

A native Jew, who called upon Seignior Manucci in the evening, asked for the Hebrew Testament. When he came to the account of the birth of our Saviour, he laid down the book, and began to laugh. I spoke to him of the institution of sacrifices, and of the frequent use of blood in their services; and, turning to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, asked him of whom the Prophet spake: he made no reply. After quoting the passage, *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come*—I stated, that, at the time that Jesus Christ appeared in the world, there was a general expectation of the Messiah among the Jews; because their learned men knew that the prophecies relating to Him were drawing near to their accomplishment: "either, therefore," I said, "Christ was the true Messiah, or your prophecies are"—anticipating me, he added, "false"—"for you have now been without rule for above eighteen hundred years." He made no other answer, but that he would send a rabbi to converse with me.

The servant of the Consul, a Jew, who had been standing by, said, a short time afterward, that Jews exist as an independent nation in some part of the East, beyond a certain river, and that all Mussulmans are supernaturally prevented from entering their country. When I mentioned that the Ten Tribes had never returned from the Babylonish captivity, he immediately caught the idea as helping his remark: as though some of the captivity possessed power in the countries to which they had been taken. Speaking to him of the vanity of their expectations, he feelingly replied, "He will come; and perhaps these

eyes may behold him, and we shall be avenged on our oppressors"—or in words of similar import. The same observation, and in a similar manner, had been made to me in Bizerta, by one of the Jews there.

Tuesday, Jan. 4, 1825—One of the individuals, who sent for an Arabic Bible, returned it. Two Moors called, and read in the book of Genesis. Coming to the words in the second chapter, *And he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made*, they immediately stopped; and said, rather angrily, that God could not feel fatigued, and that Sidna Musa (our Lord Moses) had not written that book. I was proceeding to reply, but they would not wait, but went out.

The Mohammedan schoolmaster, to whom I had sent an Arabic Genesis, came and read for a short time in the Arabic Bible. In the evening, Signior Manucci sent for him again: he took up the Bible, and began to read aloud. He said that he had read the principal part of the book of Genesis. He made the same objections as the other two Mohammedans to the words *rested on the seventh day*: I said that the words were, in my opinion to be considered as simply meaning, that on the seventh day, the work was completed, and the Creator therefore ceased from it. He also objected to the 27th verse of the first chapter—*So God created man in his own image, &c.*; observing that the passage in Arabic would bear the signification, "equal to himself." I replied, that the words had reference to the superiority of man over every other creature; and spoke of his reasoning faculties, and the immortality of the soul, as resemblances of the Deity: he acquiesced in this interpretation. He was much pleased with the Ten Commandments; and, stopping at the third, he seemed to understand that it condemns their practice of using the name of God on the most trivial occasions. I turned to the Psalms and the book of Proverbs: with parts of the Proverbs he seemed much delighted, saying repeatedly, "Good, good." But what appeared to make the greatest impression on him, was the sermon on the Mount: he read the greater part of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew; and turning down the leaf, said that he should like to take a copy of it: I pointed out, particularly, the 33d to the 37th verses, ending, *But let your conversation be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil*: from what he said, I perceived that he fully understood the spirit of the passage. He expressed no disapprobation; but his spirit seemed to rise against the principle of overcoming evil with good, which I stated to be the meaning of the passage, *But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also*.

During our reading, the Mohammedan Mufti sent for copies of the Arabic Bible and book of Genesis; saying, as usual, that he would purchase, if he should like them.

A Mohammedan, it is to be observed, professes to do every thing in the name of God; but this injunction of their religion does not sanction their constant practice of using that name in the way of interrogation and asseveration. This they do in common

discourse, and mean no more than "Indeed!" or "Is it so?"—"Yes."

It is to be lamented that both Jews and professing christians, in this country, are highly culpable in this respect; and, in conversing with Mohammedans, instead of *rather reproving them*, seem designedly to pay them the compliment of imitating their evil habits.

Wednesday, Jan. 5, 1825—Seignior Manucci stated that his partner and himself are in the frequent habit of visiting Monasteer and Mehdiä. Monasteer is about eight miles and Mehdiä twenty-five to the south-east of Susa; both of them sea-ports. Each, it is said, contains about 20,000 inhabitants. They are, with Susa, the principal depots of oil. There are no christians resident in either of these two towns.

I was informed that about 200 vessels arrive, annually, on the eastern coast of the kingdom of Tunis. They are chiefly French. This number appeared to me considerable, and may probably be somewhat over-rated: it is, in a great measure, regulated by the demands for oil, and the opportunity of furnishing the quantity required.

I deposited with Seignior Manucci nearly two boxes full of the Scriptures, chiefly in Arabic, Italian, French, and Hebrew. He stated that he should have opportunities of promoting their circulation in Susa, Monasteer, Mehdiä, and Sfax. In Susa, he intended to employ the Mohammedan schoolmaster already spoken of: making him, as I authorised him to do an allowance on sales. He engaged to correspond with the committee of the Bible Society in Malta.

I was able to obtain but little information relative to Sfax. It contains, they say, about 20,000 inhabitants. There is only one resident christian: he acts as English agent during the absence of Seignior Carlo Moro. Sponge is one of the principal articles of export.

RETURN TO TUNIS.

At one P. M. I left Susa, to return to Tunis. We arrived at Herkla, at half-past-four; and found a caravan of twelve camels, which was to set forward at some hour in the night. The caravan is a very wretched one: it consists of a few hovels round a court-yard. That which fell to the lot of myself and my guides, was about fifteen feet long and nine feet wide; and was some inches deep in sand, for there was no floor. Herkla is the *Heraclea* of the Romans, and is conjectured to be the *Adrumetum* of earlier times. An account of the present ruins may be seen in the travels of Dr. Shaw.

Thursday, Jan. 6, 1825—We set out from Herkla two hours after midnight. At day-light, we were still traversing the plain of Hamamet. The weather had been threatening for three or four days, and the rain this morning came down in torrents; continuing with but few intermissions, during the remainder of the day. We arrived near Hamamet at one o'clock: and, leav-

ing it on our right, continued our route for Sulyman, which we reached, with difficulty, about an hour-and-a-half after sun-set.

Friday, Jan. 7—It rained almost incessantly during the greater part of the night, and there was no appearance of more favorable weather this morning. We, therefore, started from Sulyman, at ten o'clock A. M.; and, after a wet ride four hours, arrived in Tunis at two in the afternoon.

Sunday, Jan. 9—Called on the Greek priest; and found his son, a young man of about twenty years of age, just recovering from a severe illness. He had but lately arrived from Malta. Referring to my return thither, I felt it inexpressibly painful to be congratulated on the approaching diversions of the Carnival in that island, by one, with the hue of death scarcely removed from his countenance, and in words almost unintelligible from weakness.

Monday, Jan. 10—The Sheriffe D'Ghis called, and remained some time. He gave me a variety of information relative to the condition of this country. He stated, that there are generally about 600 students in the principal Mohammedan College of Tunis: they study Theology and Jurisprudence. There are a few other seminaries of minor importance; and individuals may also enjoy the means of receiving private instruction. He thought that Mohammedans would send their children, if a school were established; to learn, for instance, English. Speaking of books of elementary instruction, he said that he should give the preference to universal history, rather than to the tables of Lokmann or others, because these tables require explanation. He also recommended that instruction should be gratuitous, as being the only way of obtaining scholars.

The principal sects of Mohammedans the Sheriffe stated to be four—the Hanafy, the Malaky, the Shaafu, and the Hanplu: only the first two are found in Barbary: the others are met with in Egypt. There is another small sect, confined almost entirely to the Island of Gerbe; a small island adjacent to the coast, and near the division between the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli: their distinguishing tenet he represented to be, that God never pardons a crime. Other Mohammedans think that the Almighty is more merciful; and, therefore, although the opinions of this sect tend to the good order of Society, they are disliked by the other sects on account of the rigidness of this doctrine. The difference between the four above-mentioned sects, he represented as inconsiderable. They all have their separate books—text and commentary. That of the Hanafy, is called *Alkanz*: its commentary, *Albahaa*—that of the Maluky, *Mohteijer Xalel*: its commentary *Zorkany*—that of the Shaafu, *En Shrhah*: its commentary, *Sujooty*. The name of the fourth he did not recollect.

To the Zenati and Showiah, the Sheriffe added the *SHELHY* as another dialect of North Africa.* He stated the languages of

* Concerning this dialect, Shaw has the following note:—"The language of the mountaineers in S. W. Barbary is called *Shillah*, differing in some words from the Showiah: but the meaning of the names I could never learn; unless perhaps they were called after some considerable clans, who might be either the authors or conservators of them.—*Shaw's Travels*, p. 389. Note.

the interior to be the Bornoo, the Borgnoo, the Bagermy, the Hawsa, and the Tomboktoo: he had some knowledge of all but the last: there is a resemblance among them. He thought it would not be difficult to find natives, who might be able to assist in the compilation of grammars and vocabularies of these languages. They have none of them been reduced to a written standard. The Arabic is used for correspondence.

The Sheriffe inquired if any thing further had been done by Mr. Wilberforce relative to slavery; and said that when in England he had corrected a paper on the subject. Having informed me that he had distributed the five copies of the book of Genesis, in Tunis, and that he had been lending the Arabic Bible to his friends, I placed at his disposal five more copies of Genesis for circulation at Sidi Buseid.

Calling on the Danish Consul, I met there a French gentleman, who superintends the manufacture of gunpowder for the Bey. Asking if I was the person who had "the books," he stated that he should like to purchase a Bible, in order, that, by reading it all through, he might know what is in it. I related to him the operations of the Bible Society, and spoke of the protestant Bible Society of Paris. He replied, that the Catholics of France are Protestants rather than Catholics; that their religion is more simple, more easy—they have fewer rites and ceremonies. With reference to Italy, he said that the religious state of it arises from the ignorance and interestedness of the clergy: He added, that they oppose education, because of its being their interest to maintain "certain doctrines;" by which expression he meant, such as can only be upheld by ignorance: but, probably in his view, some of the true doctrines of christianity would have been condemned as well as the superstitions of popery. I replied, that true christianity invites inquiry; and spoke of the great benefit which would result to every nation from the general circulation of the Holy Scriptures. He said that he had seen priests in Sicily, ragged, and sitting with a hat between their knees for the purpose of collecting money before saying mass.

Tuesday, Jan. 11, 1825—In the evening, called on the late American Consul, Dr. Heape. Neither this gentleman, nor the present Consul, Mr. Cox, was at home; but I passed a pleasant evening in conversation with their ladies. Mrs. Cox is a native of Malta; but had been nine years in America. She was much gratified by hearing of the establishment of schools in Malta; and expressed her surprise that more had not been done for the benefit of the population, in this respect, in former years.

Wednesday, Jan. 12—Several Moors called, to endeavor to obtain copies of the Scriptures; but, having been deceived by them in some instances, and finding that their most solemn protestations are not deserving of the slightest credit, I refused to let them have any, unless they would withdraw the stipulation which they wished to impose upon me—of returning their money, if they should not like to retain the books.

Thursday, Jan. 13—Left Tunis for the Goletta. Mr. Tulin was so kind as to accompany me to the Marina. On the way,

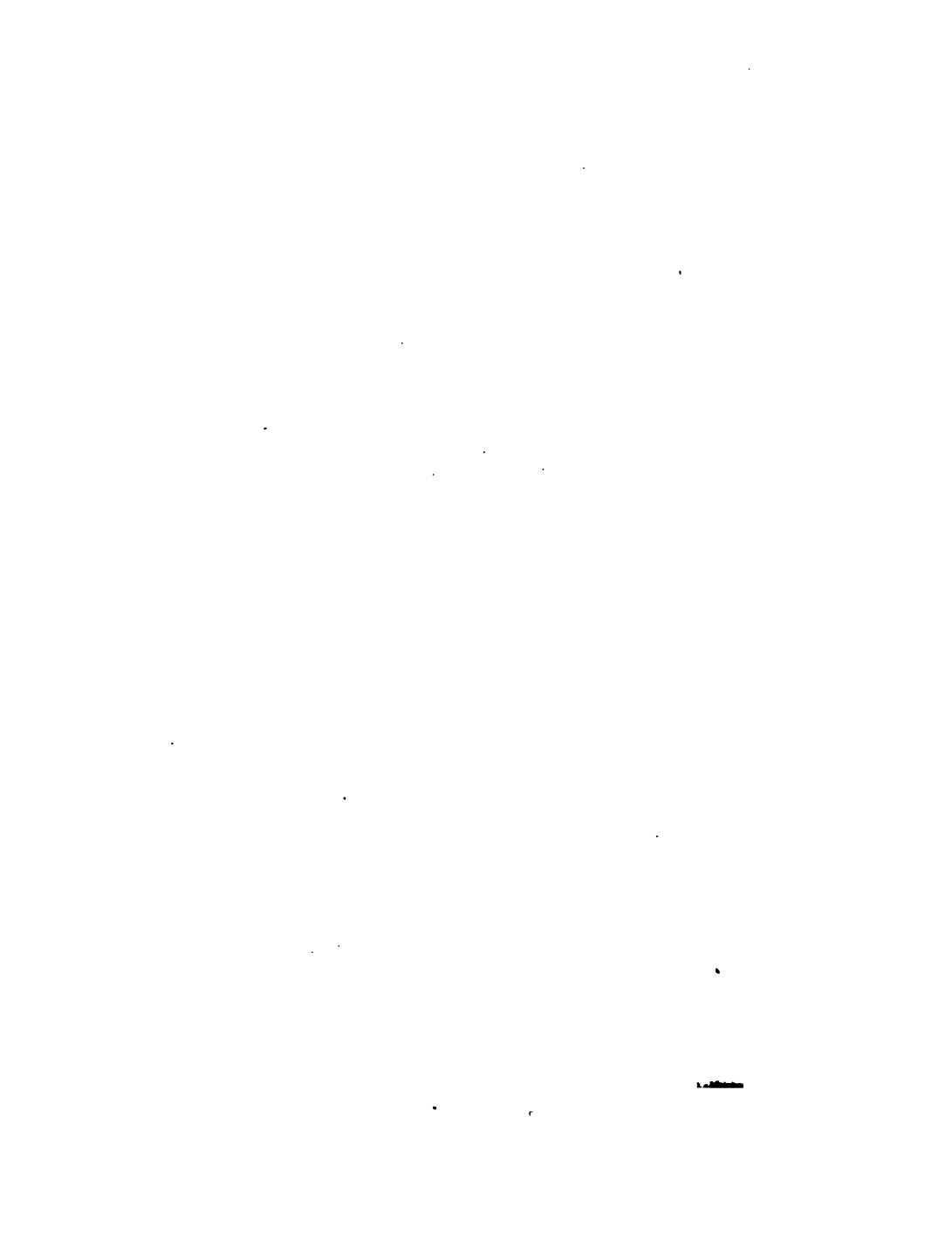
he stated that if a school were established, he was sure that all the christians would send their children. He said, also, that they should be glad to have a clergyman, rather than be under the necessity of availing themselves of the services of the Greek priest.

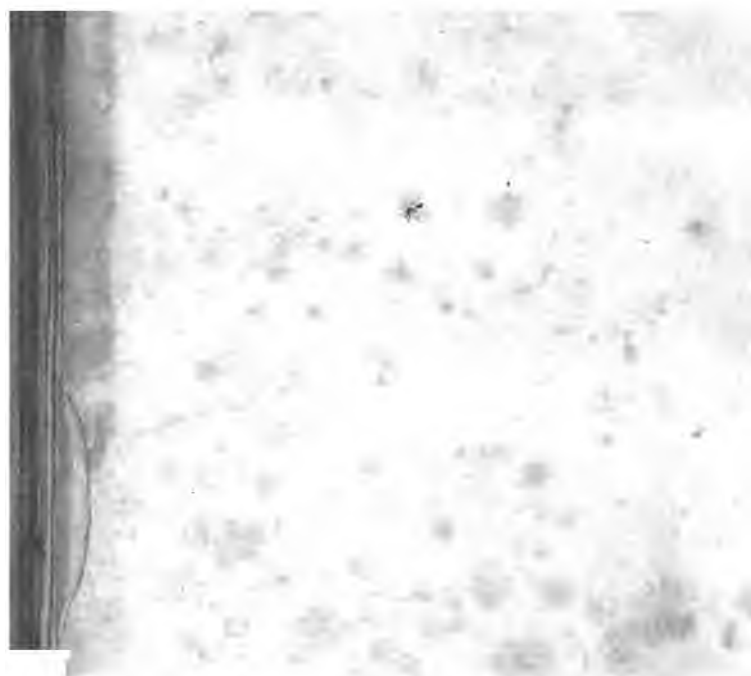
RETURN TO MALTA.

Thursday, Jan. 14—Sailed from the roads of Tunis; and arrived in Malta, on Wednesday January 19th, after a pleasant voyage of four days.

A fellow-passenger, a native of some part of Italy, but many years established in Tunis, informed me that he had been in the habit of doing business with the Gadamsi, or inhabitants of Gadamis, the great mart for trade and for slaves, above alluded to. They purchase, for the interior of Africa, small beads, cochineal, and silk. He said that 1500 would be a fair estimate of the average number of slaves annually brought to Tunis. He corroborated information, received from other sources, relative to the fact, that the price of these poor creatures has been greatly reduced during late years: probably not solely on account of the present war between the Turks and the Greeks; but in consequence, also, of the determination manifested by Great Britain, to use her utmost efforts for the extinction of all slavery.

THE END.







1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system of equations (1) as $\epsilon \rightarrow 0$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) converge to the solutions of the system of equations (2) as $\epsilon \rightarrow 0$. The convergence is uniform on compact subsets of the domain Ω .

2. In the second part of the paper, the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) is studied as $\epsilon \rightarrow 0$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) converge to the solutions of the system of equations (2) as $\epsilon \rightarrow 0$. The convergence is uniform on compact subsets of the domain Ω .

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